

Encounter

May 1969 5s

unreason & revolution

Universities in Crisis, Students in Rebellion

Edward Shils **Of Plenitude & Scarcity**

Michael Beloff **The L.S.E. Story**

Arnold Beichman **Letter from Columbia**

The Cult of Violence

Heinrich Böll **No Tears for Schmeck (a story)**

teachers & turning points

Education

book supplement

Stuart Maclure, Richard Bourne

A. H. Halsey, C. B. Cox

Tyrrell Burgess, Brian Jackson

Read today's most informed articles. Subscribe to ...

Spectator

Britain's oldest independent weekly review

6 month subscription (26 issues)
posted to you for 50s.

SEND NO MONEY

SEND NO MONEY NOW unless you wish. Simply complete and post Coupon below. It is your introduction to the fascinating pages of the Spectator . . . Britain's oldest independent weekly. Every week—as the Spectator surveys the national and international scene—you'll enjoy lively, thought-provoking articles. Articles which keep you abreast with what is happening in the world—from Redbrick to Red China. You learn why it is happening and how you are personally affected—whether by a switch in foreign policy or by the latest scientific developments.

Unique among British weeklies, there is scarcely a public figure of note who does not see the Spectator. Here and abroad, its informed and influential articles are read by political and industrial leaders . . . educationalists . . . members of the professions . . . and those seriously interested in the problems of our times.

The *Chicago Tribune* says, "The Spectator is one of the world's soundest journals of opinion". The reasons are not hard to find.

DISTINGUISHED WRITERS

Spectator contributors are drawn from the ranks of today's most distinguished writers and commentators. Often they are the people most involved in the events which shape the nation's life. What they have to say is important. The way in which they say it commands attention from all who appreciate facts without distortion . . . news uncoloured by sensationalism . . . outspoken discussion of vital questions. If you want to keep up with the best that is being thought and written today, you'll welcome the Spectator.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

And the Spectator meets your cultural and leisure needs. Each week you read fine articles by specialists on Theatre, Cinema, Music and the Arts. In addition, an unrivalled book section contains reviews by scholars and critics who are authorities in their field.

POST COUPON TODAY

Make the acquaintance of this remarkable weekly now. A six month subscription (26 issues) costs only 50/- . And, as a new subscriber, we will send you—ABSOLUTELY FREE—a copy of *Spectator's Choice*, normally 25/- . This 230 page anthology contains some of the finest contributions from the Spectator in recent years. Complete and post coupon today. Discover for yourself the rewards of reading the Spectator every week.

CONTRIBUTORS

Spectator contributors are drawn from the ranks of the most distinguished writers and commentators of the day. Here are just a few whose articles have appeared in its lively thought-provoking pages:—

GRAHAM GREENE • KINGSLEY AMIS • QUINTIN HOGG • SIMON RAVEN • ANTHONY BURGESS • JO GRIMOND • CHARLES REID • SIR DENIS BROGAN • LUDOVIC KENNEDY • KENNETH ALLSOP • AUBERON WAUGH • HELEN VLACHOS • PETER FLEMING • NORMAN ST. JOHN STEVAS • OSBERT LANCASTER • SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME • ENOCH POWELL • LORD BUTLER • THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY • SIR EDWARD BOYLE • NED SHERRIN • CHARLES CLORE • JIM SLATER • PENELOPE HOUSTON • JOHN BRAINE • MURRAY KEMPTON

REGULAR FEATURES

Book Reviews • Art • Education • Medicine • Science • Ballet • Films • Television • Theatre • Business and Investment • World Affairs. PLUS a Crossword to tax your vocabulary, however extensive . . . chess problems for the enthusiast . . . a weekly competition (with prizes) to challenge your knowledge and ingenuity.

SUBSCRIPTION COUPON

To: Spectator, 99 Gower Street, London, W.C.1.

Please post the Spectator to me each week for the next 26 weeks. I will pay the sum of 50/- when I receive your bill and you will then send me FREE "Spectator's Choice" ☐ Tick here. Or I enclose payment of 50/- . Send me my free copy of "Spectator's Choice" on receipt of this coupon ☐ Tick here

NAME

ADDRESS



Spectator

First published in 1828, the Spectator is Britain's oldest weekly review. Today—as always—it is entirely independent. Its contributors are free to express their own views and opinions, however controversial.

RECENT ARTICLES WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE SPECTATOR

Adultery for Adults by Peregrine Worsthorne
Does God Exist?

by Kenneth Allsop and Quintin Hogg

Prison or Hospital? by John Rowan Wilson

Banking by Leopold de Rothschild

Pop Art: The Style of the Sixties by Mario Amaya

What is Obscene? by John Calder

Russia 50 years After by Tibor Szamuely

Verdi Rides Again by Charles Reid

Girls in Detention by Giles Playfair

Christ or Socrates?

A debate between Auberon Waugh and Simon Raven

France: Parent's Revenge by Marc Ullman

American Commentary:

City of the Poor by Murray Kempton

The Press by David Frost

Mere Wealth in America by Denis Brogan

The Intellectuals of England by Anthony Hartley

The Square Deal by Anthony West

Pop History by Humphrey Lyttleton

The Bomb in the Yellow Box

by Group Captain Cheshire, V.C.

The Wreck of the Democrats by Murray Kempton

NATO and the Czechs by Laurence Martin

In Defence of the Monarchy

by Norman St. John-Stevs

Four Days in Mississippi by Murray Kempton

Mr. Wilson and the Lords by Auberon Waugh

Hot Line to Paris by Dev Murarka

The Time of Power by Andrew Sinclair

SPECTATOR 99 GOWER ST. WC1



Free to new subscribers

Spectator's Choice. A 230 page anthology of the best from the Spectator in recent years. Normal price 25s.

Encounter

MAY 1969
VOL. XXXII NO. 5

Edited by MELVIN J. LASKY and NIGEL DENNIS

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Goronwy Rees, Maurice Cranston, Anthony Hartley, John Mander, John Weightman.

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Margot Walmsley. EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: Bryan Healing.

GENERAL MANAGER: Anthony Robinson. ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER: John Hall.

Published monthly at 25 Haymarket London SW1. Per copy: UK 5s.: USA & Canada \$1: India Rs. 3.25. Back numbers: 6s. (\$1). Annual sub.: UK 57s. 6d.: USA & Canada \$10 (by air \$11.50): India Rs. 36: Elsewhere 70s. Trade/Subscriptions: The Continental Publishers & Distributors Ltd. 25 Worship Street London EC2 (NAT 0854). US & Canadian subscriptions: British Publications Inc. 30 East 60th Street New York, N.Y. 10022. US newsstand distribution by Gordon & Gotch (USA) Inc. 485 Fifth Avenue New York 10017 (MU 7-2645). Authorised as second-class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa, and for the payment of postage in cash. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. © 1969 by Encounter Ltd.

UNREASON AND REVOLUTION

NO TEARS FOR SCHMECK (story)	3	Heinrich Böll
LETTER FROM COLUMBIA	14	Arnold Beichman
THE CULT OF VIOLENCE	26	Special Report
"THE REVOLUTION IS DEVOURING ITS PARENTS"	30	
A NEW APARTHEID?	36	
PLENITUDE AND SCARCITY	37	Edward Shils
COLUMN	58	Nefastus Dies

THEATRE

PLAYS OR PSYCHO-DRAMAS?	62	John Weightman
-------------------------	----	----------------

ASPECTS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

THE L.S.E. STORY	66	Michael Beloff
STUDENTS & REVOLUTION	68	
HOW TO FAIL WITHOUT REALLY TRYING	78	Stuart Maclure
JOB & THE JOB OF EDUCATION	80	Richard Bourne
THE DIFFICULTIES OF "GETTING THE MESSAGE"	84	Brian Jackson
THE EDUCATIONAL GAP	86	Tyrrell Burgess
PROGRESSIVISM AS A REACTIONARY UTOPIA	90	C. B. Cox
THE DILEMMA OF PRIORITY AREAS	93	A. H. Halsey

LETTERS	97
---------	----

THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY

a periodical devoted to expanding the dialogue between East and West

"... an excellent magazine printed in English which more American intellectuals should read."

Susan Sontag in *PARTISAN REVIEW*

*From the contents of the Spring Issue
No. 33, 1969*

THE MONETARY FRAMEWORK OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Béla Csikós-Nagy

SOCIOLOGY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE

Enrico Fulchignoni

NO VERDICT

part of an autobiography

Tibor Déry

A DAY FOR MODERN ART

American Diary by Iván Boldizsár

THE MAKER

a poem

Gyula Illyés

LIVE POLITICS IN A LIVE TV-PROGRAMME

Lajos Korolovszki

DELINQUENT BOYS

György Moldova

STRIP-TEASE HUNGARIAN STYLE

Ferenc Ósz

YOUNG WRITING - BOOK REVIEWS - THEATRE CHRONICLE - THE ARTS

Subscription price: £1.13.0 or \$4.00

Ask for a free sample copy:

THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY

Editorial Offices, Rákóczi ut 17,
Budapest, VIII, Hungary

Please send a free sample copy to:

Name.....

Address.....

.....

stephen vizinczey



the rules of chaos

- 1 The future is
a blinding mirage**
- 2 If nothing is certain,
nothing is impossible**
- 3 Only the
defeated survive**
- 4 You cannot foresee,
so you must look**
- 5 You're free and
nobody belongs to you**

**Macmillan 30s
from the author of
'In Praise of
Older Women'**

No Tears for Schmeck

AS MÜLLER'S NAUSEA approached the point at which voiding was inevitable, a solemn, reverent silence filled the lecture hall. Professor Schmeck's voice, deliberately unaccentuated, cultured, slightly husky, had now (seventeen minutes before the end of the lecture) advanced to that gentle chant, soothing yet stimulating, which transports a certain type of female student (the hyper-intellectual, the kind that used to be known as a blue-stockings) to a pitch of excitement bordering on the sexual; at this moment they would have died for him. As for Schmeck, he used to describe—when speaking confidentially—this stage of his lecture as the point at which “the rational element, driven to its outer limits, to the very furthest edge of its possibilities, begins to seem irrational, and,” he would add, “my friends, when you consider that any decent church service lasts forty-five minutes, like the sex act—well then, my friends, you'll understand that rhythm and monotony, acceleration and retardation, climax—and relaxation—are an integral part of a church service, the sex act, and—in my opinion, at least—the academic lecture.”

At this point, somewhere about the thirty-third minute of the lecture, all indifference vanished from the hall, leaving only adoration and hostility. The adoring listeners could have exploded any minute into inarticulate rhythmic screams, and this would have incited the hostile listeners (who were in the minority) to screams of provocation. But at the very instant when such unacademic behaviour appeared imminent, Schmeck broke off in the middle of a sentence and with a

prosaic gesture introduced that sobering note which he needed to bring the lecture to a controlled conclusion: he blew his nose with a brightly coloured check handkerchief, and the compulsive glance with which he briefly inspected it before replacing it in his pocket had a sobering effect on every last female student whose lips may already have been showing traces of light foam. “I need adoration,” Schmeck used to say, “but when I get it, I can't take it.”

A deep sigh went through the lecture hall, hundreds swore never again to attend a Schmeck lecture—and on Tuesday afternoon they would be crowding round the door, they would stand in line for half an hour, they would miss the lecture given by Livorno, Schmeck's rival, so as to hear Schmeck (who never announced the times of his lectures until Livorno had settled on his). Whenever Schmeck was supposed to announce his lecture schedule for the university time-table, he had no compunction about going off to places so remote that he could not be reached even by cable. Last semester he had gone on an expedition to the Warrau Indians, for weeks he was hidden in the Orinoco delta, and when his expedition was over he cabled his lecture schedule from Caracas, and it had been identical with Livorno's (a fact which led someone in the Registrar's office to remark: “Obviously he has his spies in Venezuela too”).

The deep sigh seemed to Müller to indicate the right moment to do what he ought to have done a quarter of an hour earlier but hadn't had the nerve to: go out and get rid of the contents of his stomach. When he

stood up in the front row, his briefcase tucked under his arm, and made his way through the closely packed rows, he was fleetingly aware of the look of indignation, of surprise, on the faces of the students who grudgingly made room for him. Even the Schmeck opponents seemed to find it inconceivable that there could be anybody—and an out-and-out Schmeck supporter at that, of whom it was rumoured that he was angling for the post of chief assistant lecturer—who would deprive himself even partially of this perfidious brilliance. When Müller at last reached the exit he heard with half an ear the remainder of the sentence which Schmeck had broken off to blow his nose—“to the heart of the problem: is the mackintosh an accidental or typical manifestation? Is it sociologically significant?”

MÜLLER REACHED the toilet just in time, loosened his tie, ripped open his shirt, heard a shirt button tinkle as it rolled away into the next cubicle, let his briefcase drop to the tiled floor—and vomited. He felt the cold sweat getting even colder on the gradually returning warmth of his face; keeping his eyes closed, he flushed the toilet by groping for the lever, and was surprised to feel in some definitive way not only liberated but cleansed. What had been flushed away was more than vomit; it was a whole philosophy, a suspicion confirmed, rage—he laughed with relief, wiped his mouth with his handkerchief, hastily pushed up the knot of his tie, picked up his briefcase and left the cubicle. They had teased him a hundred times, but here was proof of how useful it was always to carry along a towel and soap. A hundred times they had made fun of his “plebeian” soap container; as he opened it now, he could have kissed his mother, for she had urged him to take it with him when he started university three years ago: soap was the very thing he needed now. He pulled uncertainly at his tie, left it the way it was, hung his jacket up on the doorknob, washed his face and hands thoroughly, wiped his neck briefly, and left

the washroom as quickly as he could: the corridors were still empty; and if he hurried he could be in his room before Marie. I’ll ask her, he thought, whether disgust, which we all know originates in the mind, can have such a drastic effect on the stomach.

IT WAS A MILD, DAMP DAY in early spring, and for the first time in three years of university he missed the last, the third, step at the main entrance—he had only reckoned with two—stumbled, and in catching himself and trying to get back into step he was conscious of the after-effects of the appalling quarter of an hour he had just been through. He felt giddy, and he was aware of his surroundings as a pleasant, dreamy blur. The faces of the college girls—majoring in literature, he would imagine—wore a look of impressionistic sensuality, they strolled languidly about under the green trees, carrying their books, and even the Catholic students with their coloured caps, who appeared to be holding some kind of meeting in front of the main building, seemed less objectionable than usual: their coloured ribbons and caps might have been wisps of a dissolving rainbow. Müller stumbled along, returning greetings mechanically, fighting his way against the stream which now, at half-past twelve, was pouring into the university like a stream of workers at change of shift.

NOT UNTIL he was in the street-car, three stops further on, did he begin to see properly again, as if he had put on glasses which corrected his vision; from one suburb to the city centre, from the centre out again to another suburb: almost an hour to think things out and “get everything into proper perspective.” It just couldn’t be true! Surely Schmeck was the last man to have to steal from him—Rudolf Müller, third-year student? Hadn’t he told Schmeck he was considering writing a series of essays to demonstrate “*The Sociology of Dress*,” taking as his first title: “*On the Sociology of the*

Mackintosh," and hadn't Schmeck enthusiastically agreed, congratulated him, and offered to supervise the whole series? And hadn't he read the first pages of his "*Sociology of the Mackintosh*" aloud to Schmeck in his study, sentences which today he had heard coming word for word from Schmeck's lips? Müller turned pale again, tore open his brief-case and rummaged through it: the soap container fell to the floor, then a book by Schmeck: *First Principles of Sociology*. Where was his manuscript? Was it a dream, a memory, or a hallucination, that he suddenly found himself looking at: Schmeck's smile as he stood in the doorway of his study, the white pages of manuscript in his hand. "Of course I'll be glad to have a look at your work!" Then the Easter vacation—first at home, then three weeks in London with a study group—and today Schmeck's lecture, "RUDIMENTS OF A SOCIOLOGY OF DRESS, PART ONE: *On the Sociology of the Mackintosh*..."

TRANSFER. He automatically got off, on again when his street-car arrived, gave a troubled sigh as the elderly conductress sitting on her throne recognised him. Would she make the same joke she had been making ever since she had seen his student's pass? She made the joke: "Well, well—if it isn't our gentleman of leisure, all through by 11.30—and now it's off to the gals, eh?" The passengers laughed. Müller blushed, made his way to the front, wished he could get out, run faster than the street-car and get home and into his room at last, so as to find out for sure. His diary would be proof—or would it help to have Marie as a witness? She had typed his paper for him, he remembered her suggesting she make a carbon copy, he could see her hand holding up the carbon paper, but he had waved it aside, pointing out that it was only a draft, an outline—and he could see Marie's hand putting the carbon paper back into the drawer and starting to type. "RUDOLF MÜLLER, *philosophy student*, 17 Buckwheat Street"—and while he was dictating the heading it struck him one could

also write a sociology of food: buckwheat flour, pancakes, roast beef—in the working-class district where he had grown up this was considered the pinnacle of epicurean delight, on a par in the scale of bliss with sexual pleasures—rice pudding, lentil soup; and before he had even begun dictating his essay to Marie he already had visions of following up the sociology of the mackintosh with a sociology of french fries. Ideas, ideas, all kinds, in fact—and he knew he had what it took to put these ideas into words.

THESE ENDLESS STREETS leading out of the city, Roman, Napoleonic—the house numbers were already in the 900s. Fragmented memories: Schmeck's voice—the sudden nausea on first hearing the word mackintosh—eight or nine minutes up there in the front row—the urge to vomit—then the thirty-third minute, Schmeck's handkerchief, his glance at the results of his noisy exertions—at long last the toilet—misty dampness in front of the university—the girls' faces, sensual, blurred—the coloured ribbons of the Catholic students like remnants of a dying rainbow; getting into the No. 12, transferring to the No. 18—the conductress' joke—and already the house numbers on Mainz Street were up to 980, 981. He pulled out one of the three cigarettes he had taken along in his breast pocket as his morning ration, groped for the match.

"Here, young fellow, give us a light too." He stood up, and with a wan smile walked to where the old conductress was squeezing herself down off her throne. He held the burning match to her cigarette butt, then lit his own cigarette, and was pleasantly surprised to find he felt no nausea. "Troubles, son?" He nodded, looked hard at her coarse, red-veined face, dreading the obscenity she might offer as consolation, but she merely nodded and said, "Thank you kindly," clasped his shoulder as the street-car swung into the terminus loop, got out ahead of him when the street-car stopped, and waddled along to the front car, where the driver was already unscrewing his Thermos flask.

HOW SMALL THESE GREY HOUSES were, how narrow the streets. A parked motor-cycle was enough to block them; thirty years ago the apostles of progress had not believed that cars would ever become a commonplace. Here visions of the future had become the present, and died; everything which would later claim to be progressive and advanced was regarded with hostility; all the streets were alike, from Acanthus Avenue to Zinnia Road, wintergreen and leek, monkshood (first rejected because it smacked of clericalism but later approved by the Board as being strictly botanical and free of any clericalist taint) and privet—"all growing things" were to be found here in street names; surrounded by a Marx Avenue, at the centre an Engels Square (Marx Street and Engels Street had already been appropriated by older working-class districts). The little church had been built later, when it was discovered that the declared atheists were all married to devout wives—when one day (by this time the devout mothers had their grown-up sons and daughters on their side) the polling district had to report more votes for the Catholic Centre Party than for the Socialist Party, when old socialists, crimson with embarrassment, drowned their sorrows in drink and went over in a body to the Communist Party. For years now the little church had been much too small, on Sundays it overflowed, and the model for the new one could be admired at the rectory. Very modern. Beyond Marx Avenue, the neighbouring parish of St. Boniface had donated land for the new church of St. Joseph, patron saint of the working class. Construction cranes were already reaching up triumphantly into the spring sky.

Müller tried to smile, but couldn't quite, when he thought of his father; it always seemed to him as if the aura of the 'twenties, that ardent spirit of atheism and enlightenment, still hung in the air here, as if the climate of free love were still present, and, although it was never heard now, he seemed to hear echoes in these streets of "*Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit*"; his smile miscarried. Rosemary Street, Tulip Street, Maple

Grove—and another street cycle, in alphabetical order: Acacia Way, Buckwheat Street at last—"all growing things." There was No. 17, now he could smile, as he caught sight of Marie's bicycle: it was propped up against the iron railing which Uncle Will had built around the garbage can, the none-too-clean, wobbly bicycle belonging to Baroness von Schlimm (younger branch). His desire to show affection even to the bicycle was manifested in a gentle kick against the back tyre. He opened the door, called "Hallo, Auntie," into the narrow passageway, which smelled of french fries, picked up the parcel lying on the bottom stair, and rushed upstairs. The staircase was so narrow that his elbow always brushed the reddish-brown Hessian wall-covering, and Aunt Kate claimed to be able to determine the vehemence and frequency of his ascents from the traces of wear—in the course of the three years a strip had been rubbed bare, to a shade resembling a bald head.

MARIE. He never failed to be moved by the intensity of his feelings for her, and each time (by now they had met more than three hundred times, he kept track, so to speak, in his diary), each time she seemed thinner than he remembered her. During the time they were together she seemed to fill out, when he thought of her afterwards he remembered her as full, and he was consistently surprised when he saw her again in her original, unaltered thinness. She had taken off her shoes and stockings and was lying on his bed, dark-haired and pale, with a pallor which he still could not help feeling was a sign of consumption.

"Please," she said gently, "don't kiss me, all morning I've been listening to dirty stories about various kinds of love. If you want to be nice, rub my feet." He threw down his briefcase and the parcel, knelt down by the bed and took her feet in his hands. "How sweet you are," she said, "I only hope you don't get a male nurse complex—with your kind one has to be so careful, and please," she said, lowering her voice, "let's stay here,

I'm too tired to go out to eat. Anyway, our social worker, who looks after employee relations, always regards my absence at lunchtime as anti-social."

"For God's sake," he said, "why don't you quit the whole ghastly business. Those swine."

"Which ones do you mean? My bosses or the other girls?"

"Your bosses," he said, "what you call dirty stories are the outward expression of the only pleasure those girls have; your bourgeois ears. . . ."

"I have feudal ears, in case my ears require a sociological epithet."

"Feudalism succumbed to the bourgeoisie, it married into industry, thereby becoming bourgeois. You are confusing what is accidental in you with what is typical. To attach so much importance to a name by regarding it as valueless as you regard yours is a form of late-bourgeois idealism. Isn't it enough for you that soon—before God and man, as your kind would put it—your name will be Marie Müller?"

"Your hands do feel nice," she said. "When will you be in a position to support a wife and children with them?"

"As soon as you take the trouble to work out how much we'll have to live on when we're married and you go on working."

She sat up and recited in a school-girl sing-song: "You get 243 a month, that's the highest category; as an assistant lecturer you earn 200, of which 125 is available because it's earned in conjunction with your university training: that makes 368—but your father earns 710 net, *i.e.*, 260 more than the free limit, which means that you, since you're an only child, have your income reduced by 130; in other words, you're working as an assistant lecturer for nothing—net balance: 238. As soon as we get married, half of what I earn above 300—*i.e.*, exactly 2 marks and 15 pfennigs—will be deducted, so that your total net income will amount to 235 marks and 85 pfennigs."

"Congratulations," he said, "so you really got down to it?"

"Yes," she said, "and the most important

thing I worked out is that you're working for precisely nothing for this Schmeck-swine. . . ."

He took his hands off her legs. "Schmeck-swine, what makes you say that?"

She looked up at him, swung her legs round, sat up on the edge of the bed, he pushed his slippers toward her. "What's Schmeck been up to? Something new? Tell me—never mind my feet now—go on, tell me, what's he been up to?"

"Can you wait a moment?" he said, picked up his brief-case and the parcel from the floor, took the two remaining cigarettes from his breast pocket, lit them both, gave one to Marie, threw briefcase and parcel down beside Marie on the bed, went over to the bookshelf and pulled out his diary, a fat exercise book standing between Kierkegaard and Kotzebue, sat down at Marie's feet beside the bed.

"Listen," he said. "Here. *December 13*. During a walk with Marie through the park, suddenly struck by the idea of a '*Sociology of the Mackintosh*.'"

"That's right," said Marie, "you told me about it at the time, remember my objections?"

"Sure." He turned some more pages. "Here. *January 2*. Began work on it. Outlines, ideas—also viewed material. Went to Meier's Menswear and tried to get a look at their customer list, but no luck. . . . It goes on—January February, daily entries about the progress of the work."

"Yes, of course," said Marie, "and at the end of February you dictated the first thirty pages to me."

"Yes, and here, this is what I was looking for: *March 1*. Went to see Schmeck, showed him the first pages of my draft, read parts of it out to him. Schmeck asked me to leave the manuscript with him so he could look through it. . . ."

"That's right, and the next day you went home to your parents."

"And then to England. Came back yesterday—and today was Schmeck's first lecture, and the audience was more interested, more enthralled, more ecstatic than ever, because

the subject was so new, so thrilling—at least for the audience. I'll let you guess what Schmeck's lecture was about. Try and guess, my dear Baroness."

"If you call me Baroness once more, I'll call you—no," she smiled, "don't worry, I won't call you that, even if you do call me Baroness. Would it hurt your feelings if I called you that?"

"If you call me that, no," he said gently, "you can call me what you like—but you have no idea how wonderful it is when they call out after you, whisper as you go by, when they write it after your name on the bulletin board—'Rudolf, Son of the Working Class.' I'm a freak, you see, I'm the great phenomenon, I'm one of those of whom there are only five in every hundred, only fifty in every thousand, and—the higher you go, the more fantastic the ratio—I'm one of those of whom there are only five thousand in every hundred thousand: I am really and truly the son of a working man who is studying at a West German university."

"At the East German universities I guess it's the other way round; ninety-five per cent are from working-class families."

"Over there I'd be something absurdly ordinary; here I'm the famous example in discussions, arguments, counter-arguments, a real live unadulterated Son of the Working Class—and talented too, very talented; but you've still not tried to guess what Schmeck was paying homage to today."

"Television perhaps."

Müller laughed. "No, the big snobs are now in *favour* of television."

"Not"—Marie stubbed out her cigarette in the ashtray Müller was holding—"not the sociology of the mackintosh?"

"What else," said Rudolf in a low voice, "what else?"

"No," said Marie, "he *can't* do that."

"But he has done it, and there were sentences in his lecture which I recognised and remembered how much fun I had had formulating them..."

"Too much fun, it seems..."

"Yes, I know—he quoted whole paragraphs."

He got up off the floor and began pacing up and down in the room. "You know how it is when you try to figure out whether you're quoting yourself or someone else—when you hear something you think you've heard or said before, and you try and figure out whether you said it before yourself, or whether you only thought it, whether you recognise it or read it—and you go crazy because your memory's not functioning properly."

"Yes," said Marie, "I always used to worry about whether or not I'd had anything to drink before Holy Communion. You think you've had a drink of water because so often, so many thousands of times, you have had a drink of water on an empty stomach—but actually you haven't had anything to drink..."

"And yet you can't come up with any convincing proof—that's where a diary is so important."

"You needn't have worried about this particular question: it's obvious that Schmeck's robbed you."

"And done me out of my thesis."

"Oh my God," said Marie—she stood up next to the bed, put her hand on Rudolf's shoulder, kissed his neck—"oh my God, you're right, that's true—he's cut the ground from under your feet—can't you sue him?"

Müller laughed. "Every university on the face of the earth, from Massachusetts to Göttingen to Lima, from Oxford to Nagasaki, will burst out in one united, crazy laugh when a person by the name of Rudolf Müller, Son of the Working Class, gets up and claims to have been robbed by Schmeck. Even the Warraus will join in the derisive laughter, for they know too that the wise white man Schmeck is omniscient in the ways of mankind—but—and this is what would happen if I sued him—if Schmeck got up and said he had been robbed by a person by the name of Müller, they would all nod their heads, even the Hottentots."

"He ought to be exterminated," said Marie.

"At last you're beginning to think in non-bourgeois terms."

"I don't understand how you can still laugh," said Marie.

"There's a very good reason for the fact that I can still laugh," said Müller. He went over to the bed, picked up the parcel, took it over to the table and began to undo the string. He patiently untied all the knots, so slowly that Marie jerked open the drawer, took out a penknife, and silently held it out to him.

"Exterminated, yes," said Müller, "that might be an idea—but not for anything in the world would I cut this string: that would be cutting right into my mother's heart—when she opens a parcel she carefully unties the string, rolls it up and puts it aside for future use—the next time she comes here she'll ask me about the string, and if I can't produce it she will predict the imminent end of the world."

Marie snapped the knife shut again, put it back in the drawer, leaned against Müller while he unwrapped the paper from his parcel and carefully folded it up. "You haven't told me yet why you can still laugh," she said, "after all, that was the vilest, filthiest, most disgusting trick that Schmeck could play on you—when you think how he wanted to make you his chief assistant and how he's prophesied a brilliant future for you."

"Well," said Müller, "do you really want to know why?"

She nodded, "Tell me," she said.

He put down the parcel, kissed her. "Damn it all," he murmured, "if it weren't for you I would have done something desperate."

"Do it anyway," she said quietly.

"What?"

"Do something desperate to him," said Marie, "I'll help you."

"What do you want me to do, really kill him?"

"Do something physical to him, not mental—half kill him."

"How?"

"Maybe beat him up—but let's have something to eat first. I'm hungry and I have to go off again in thirty-five minutes."

"I'm not so sure you will go off again."

He carefully folded up a second layer of paper, undid a piece of thinner string tied round the core of the parcel, a shoebox, removed the sheet of notepaper stuck between string and box-lid ("Every parcel should contain the address inside as well as out"), and at last, while Marie sighed, he took off the lid of the shoebox: salami, ham, cake, cigarettes, and a package of glutamate. Marie picked up the notepaper from the table and read out in a low voice: "*My dear boy*, I am glad you could make the long journey to England so cheaply. It is wonderful what they are doing these days at the universities. Tell us about London when you come home. Remember how proud we are of you. Now you are really working on your Ph.D. thesis—I just can't believe it. *Your loving Mother.*"

"They really are proud of me," said Müller.

"And they have every reason to be," said Marie. She put away the contents of the parcel in a little cupboard below the bookshelves, took out an opened package of tea. "I'll run down and make us some tea."

"IT'S FUNNY," said Marie, "but when I propped my bike up against the railing today at noon, I knew then that I wouldn't be going back after lunch to that plastics nightmare. One does have premonitions like that—once when I came home from school I threw my bike against the hedge just like I used to every day. It always sank half-way in, tipped over, the handle-bars would get caught in a branch and the front wheel would stick up in the air—and as I threw my bike in there I knew I wouldn't be going back to school next day, that I would never be going back to any school. It wasn't just that I was fed up with it—there was much more to it than that, I simply knew that it would be wicked for me to go to school for even one more day. Father couldn't get over it, you see it was exactly four weeks before my

graduation, but I said to him: 'Have you ever heard of the sin of gluttony?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I have, but you haven't been guilty of gluttony as far as school's concerned.' 'No,' I said, 'it's just an example—but when you swallow one more mouthful of coffee or one more piece of cake than at a given point you ought to drink or eat, isn't that gluttony?' 'It is,' he said, 'and I can imagine such a thing as spiritual gluttony, only'—but I interrupted him and said: 'There's not room for another thing in me, I already feel like a stuffed goose.' 'It's a pity,' said Father, 'that this has to happen to you four weeks before your graduation. 'It's such a useful thing to have.' 'Useful for what?' I asked, 'you mean university?' 'Yes,' he said, and I said: 'No, if I'm going to work in a factory, then it's going to be a real one'—and that's what I did. Does it hurt you when I tell you things like this?'

"Yes," said Müller, "it hurts very much to see someone throwing away something that for countless people is the object of all their dreams and aspirations. It's also possible to laugh about clothes, or to despise them, when one has them hanging in the closet or is in a position to buy them any time—it's possible to laugh about anything one has always taken for granted."

"But I didn't laugh about it, and I didn't despise it, and it's true that I preferred to work in a real factory rather than in a university."

"Oh I believe you," he said, "I do, just as I believe you're really a Catholic."

"By the way, I got a parcel from home yesterday too," said Marie. "Guess what was in it."

"Salami, ham, cake, cigarettes," said Müller, "and no glutamate—and needless to say you cut the string with scissors, screwed the paper up into a ball and..."

"Exactly," said Marie, "exactly, only you've forgotten something..."

"No I haven't," said Müller. "I haven't forgotten anything, you interrupted me, that's all—then you immediately bit into the salami, then the cake, and right after that you lit a cigarette."

"Come on, let's go to the movies, and then we'll half kill Schmeck, this evening."

"Today?" said Müller.

"Of course today," said Marie, "when ever you think something is right, you should do it at once—and a woman should fight at her man's side."

IT WAS DARK BY THE TIME they came out of the movie, and they found the bicycle parking attendant in a state of sullen resentment; Marie's ramshackle bicycle was the sole remaining one in his charge; an old man, his coat almost trailing on the ground rubbing his hands to warm them, walking up and down muttering curses under his breath.

"Give him a tip," whispered Marie. She remained nervously by the chain separating the parking lot from the square in front of the opera house.

"My principles forbid me to give tips except where they form part of the wages. It's an offence against human dignity."

"Perhaps you've got a mistaken idea of human dignity. Seven hundred years ago my ancestor, the first Schlimm, was given a whole barony as a tip."

"And maybe that's why you have so little sense of human dignity. Christ," he said, lowering his voice, "what do you give in a case like this?"

"Twenty or thirty pfennigs, I should think, or about the same in cigarettes. Go on, please, you go first, help your assistant. I'm so embarrassed."

Müller hesitantly approached the attendant, holding out the stub as if it were a pass he didn't quite trust, then, when the old man's furious face was turned toward him, quickly drew the cigarette pack from his pocket, saying: "Sorry, I'm afraid we're a bit late"—the old man took the whole pack, stuck it into his coat pocket, gestured in wordless contempt toward the bicycle and walked past Marie in the direction of the street-car stop.

"When you're in love with light-weight men," said Marie, "you have the advantage of being able to take them on the luggage

carrier." She rode in and out between waiting cars till they got to the front at the red light. "Look out, Müller," she said, "see you don't scratch their paint with your feet, they're very touchy about that, they worry about it more than if their wives get a scratch." And when the driver of the car waiting beside her rolled down his window, she said in a loud voice: "If I were you I would write a sociology of the various makes of cars. Driving is the training ground of one-upmanship—and the worst ones are the so-called gentlemen behind the wheel: their false democratic courtesy is positively nauseating; it is a hypocrisy *par excellence*, because it means they expect a medal for something that should be taken for granted."

"Right," said Müller, "and the worst thing about them is, they all think *they* look different from the others, while actually. . ."

The driver quickly wound up his window again.

"Yellow, Marie," he said.

Marie pushed off, going straight across in front of the cars to the right-hand lane, while Müller conscientiously stuck out his right arm.

"I see I've found a good assistant," he said, as they turned into a dark side street.

"Assistant," said Marie, over her shoulder, "is a weak translation of *adjutorium*—which contains much more: counsel, and some pleasure too. Where does he live?"

"MommSEN Street," said Müller, "No. 37."

"That's wonderful—he's stuck with a street name that must annoy him every time he reads it, says it, writes it—and I hope he has to do each of those things three times a day. I'm sure he hates a classicist like MommSEN."

"He hates him like poison."

"Serves him right that he has to live in MommSEN Street. What's the time?"

"Half-past seven."

"A quarter of an hour to go."

She turned into a still darker side street leading to the park, stopped, Müller jumped off and helped her to guide the bicycle through the barrier. They walked a few

yards along the dark path, stopped beside a bush, and Marie threw her bicycle against a shrub, it sank half-way in, got caught on a twig. "Almost like home," said Marie, "there's nothing like shrubbery for bikes."

Müller put his arms around her, kissed her neck, and Marie whispered:

"Don't you think I'm a bit too skinny for a woman?"

"Be quiet, assistant," he said.

"You're terribly scared," she said, "I didn't know one could actually feel a person's heart beating—tell me, are you scared?"

"Of course I am," he said, "it's my first assault—and I find it quite incredible that we're really standing here for the purpose of luring Schmeck into a trap, to beat him up. I just can't believe it."

"You see, you have faith in intellectual weapons, in progress and so on, and one has to pay for such mistakes; if there ever were such things as intellectual weapons—they're no use nowadays."

"Try and understand," he whispered, "the mental process: here I am. . ."

"You poor fellows, you must be schizophrenics. I do wish I wasn't so thin. I read somewhere that thin women aren't good for schizoids."

"Your hair actually smells of that filthy plastic, and your hands are quite rough."

"Yes," she whispered, "you see, I'm one of those girls you come across in modern novels. Heading: Baroness turns her back on her own class, decides she is really going to *live*. What's the time now?"

"Almost quarter to."

"He's bound to come soon. It's so satisfactory to be going to trap him in his own vanity. You ought to have heard his voice when he was talking to that radio reporter: 'Regularity, rhythm, that is my principle. A light meal—just a snack, actually, at 7.15—and some strong tea—and at a quarter to eight my evening walk through the park—you're sure you know what we're going to do?'"

"Yes," said Müller, "as soon as he comes round the corner you lay your bike down right across the path, and when I go *Tss*

Tss, you run and lie down beside it—he'll come running over to you."

"And you come up from behind, beat him up thoroughly, hard enough so he needs some time to come to, and we clear off..."

"That doesn't sound quite fair."

"Fair," she said, "that's just one of those mental images."

"And what if he calls for help? Or if he manages to get the upper hand? He weighs at least a hundred pounds more than I do! And, as I say, I don't like the sound of 'from behind.'"

"Of course, people like you always have your mental images. Fair election campaign, etc.—and obviously you always get defeated. Remember I'm coming to help you, that I'll hit him good and hard too—and if we have to we'll just abandon the bike."

"As a *corpus delicti*? It must be the only bike in town whose appearance is unmistakable."

"Your heart's beating stronger and stronger, faster and faster, you really must be dreadfully scared."

"Aren't you?"

"Sure I am," she said, "but I know we're in the right and that this is the only way of seeing some kind of justice done, considering the whole world's on his side, including the Hottentots."

"Christ," whispered Müller, "there he is now."

Marie jumped on to the path, snatched her bicycle from the bushes, laid it down in the middle of the damp path. Müller watched Schmeck walking along the lane, hatless, his coat open and flapping. "Damn," he whispered to Marie, "we forgot the dog, look at the creature, a German shepherd, almost as big as a calf." Marie was standing beside him again, looking over his shoulder toward Schmeck—"Solveig, Solveig," he called hoarsely, fending off the dog who was leaping joyously up at him; then he picked up a stone from the path and threw it toward the bushes, where it dropped scarcely ten yards from Müller.

"Damn," said Marie, "it's useless trying anything with that dog; he's vicious, and

trained to attack people—I can tell. We'll get complexes because we didn't do it after all—but it's quite useless." She walked over to the path, picked up her bicycle, nudged Müller and said softly: "Well come on, we have to leave, what's the matter?"

"Nothing," said Müller; he took Marie's arm, "I had just forgotten how much I loathe him."

Schmeck was standing under the street lamp stroking the dog, who had laid the stone at his feet. He looked up as the couple entered the circle of light, glanced one more at the dog, then suddenly up again, and walked toward Müller with outstretched hands. "Müller," he said warmly, "my dear Müller, fancy meeting you here"—but Müller succeeded in looking at and yet through Schmeck; mustn't meet Schmeck's eyes; if I meet them, he thought, I'm lost, I mustn't behave as if he isn't there—he is there, and I'll extinguish him with my eyes—one step, two, three—he felt Marie's firm grasp on his arm, he was panting as if after some enormous exertion.

"Müller," called Schmeck, "it is you—can't you take a joke?"

The rest was easy: just keep walking, fast and yet not too fast. . . . They heard Schmeck called again, *Müller*, first loud, then softer: *Müller, Müller, Müller*—and at last they had turned the corner.

Marie's deep sigh startled him; when he turned to her he saw she was crying. He took the bicycle from her, leaned it against a garden fence, wiped her tears away with his finger, put his free hand on her shoulder. "Marie," he said softly, "what's the matter?"

"You scare me," she said, "that wasn't an assault, that was murder. I'm scared he's going to wander around for all eternity in this wretched little park whispering *Müller, Müller, Müller*—it's like a nightmare: Schmeck's ghost with the dog, in the damp bushes, his beard growing, getting so long that it drags behind him like a frayed belt—and all the time he's whispering: *Müller, Müller, Müller*. Oughtn't I to see if he's all right?"

"No," said Müller, "no, don't, just leave

him alone, he's perfectly all right. If you feel sorry for him, give him a mackintosh for his birthday. You can't even begin to think what he's done to me. He turned me into the miracle Son of the Working Class, I was its *protégé*, as they call it, and no doubt he expects the mackintoshes as a form of tribute—but I'm not going to pay him this tribute, not if I can help it. Tomorrow morning he's going to say casually to Wegelot, his chief assistant, just as he's leaving the room: 'By the way, Müller's gone over into the reactionary camp after all, he's transferred to Livorno, he called me up yesterday saying he wanted to leave the seminar'—and then he'll close the door again, go over to Wegelot and say: 'Pity about Müller, very talented, but his draft thesis was simply terrible, quite hopeless. I suppose it's difficult for these people who have to fight not only the world around them but their own milieu as well. Pity'—then he'll bite his lip again and leave the room."

"Are you quite sure that's how it's going to be?"

"Quite sure," said Müller, "come on, let's go home. No tears for Schmeck, Marie."

"The tears weren't for Schmeck," said Marie.

"For me then?"

"Yes—you're so terribly brave."

"Now that really does sound like a modern novel. Are we going home?"

"Would you think it terrible if I said I would like one (in words, one) hot meal?"

"All right," Müller laughed, "let's ride to the nearest restaurant."

"We'd better walk. There are a lot of policemen around at this hour: the park, not

many lights, spring in the air—attempted rapes—and a summons would cost us as much as two bowls of soup."

Müller wheeled the bicycle. They walked slowly along the lane beside the park. As they stepped out of the light from the next street lamp they saw a policeman in deep shadow beyond the barrier leaning against a tree.

"You see," said Marie, loud enough for the policeman to hear, "we've already saved two marks for the summons, but as soon as we get out of sight you can hop up again."

When they had turned the next corner Marie got up on her bicycle, propping herself against the curb to let Müller get on. She pushed off quickly, leaned back and called out: "What do you want to do now?"

"How do you mean?"

"I mean, what d'you want to do."

"Now, or generally speaking?"

"Now *and* generally speaking."

"Now I'm going to have something to eat with you, and generally speaking I'm going to see Livorno tomorrow, register for his course, ask for an interview, and offer a suggestion for a thesis."

"On what?"

"*Critical Appreciation of the Collected Works of Schmeck.*"

Marie rode up to the curb, stopped, turned round in the saddle: "On what?"

"I just told you: *Critical Appreciation of the Collected Works of Schmeck*. I know them almost by heart—and hatred makes good ink."

"Doesn't love?"

"No," said Müller, "love makes the worst ink in the world. Ride on, assistant."

Translated by Leila Vennewitz

Arnold Beichman

Letter from Columbia

The Progress of a Putsch

"A state never is, nor, until mankind are vastly improved, can hope to be, for any long time exempt from internal dissension; for there neither is nor has ever been any state of society in which collisions did not occur between the immediate interests and passions of powerful sections of the people. What, then, enables society to weather these storms, and pass through turbulent times without any permanent weakening of the ties which hold it together? Precisely this—that however important the interests about which men fall out, the conflict does not affect the fundamental principles of the system of social union which happens to exist; nor threaten large portions of the community with the subversion of that on which they have built their calculations, and with which their hopes and aims have become identified. But when the questioning of these fundamental principles is not an occasional disease, but the habitual condition of the body politic; and when all the violent animosities are called forth, which spring naturally from such a situation, the state is virtually in a position of civil war; and can never long remain free from it in act and fact..."

JOHN STUART MILL, *Coleridge* (1840)

THE LEAST IMPORTANT question facing Columbia University this spring is whether or not another shutdown will take place; certainly a student attempt will be made to prevent the University from functioning, and thus to transform it into the "East Coast San Francisco State." Columbia's acting president has stated that he would not "allow" a major disruption but has declined to say in advance what he would do to prevent it. The most important question (and not merely for Columbia but for most of the large prestigious American universities) is what to do about the latest fact of American politics

ARNOLD BEICHMAN, author and foreign correspondent, has been doing research and graduate studies at Columbia University for the past three years. His book, *The "Other" State Department*, was recently published; his previous article on "The Battle of Columbia" appeared in the July 1968 ENCOUNTER.

and culture: the rise of a cohesive radical student movement, unrelated to adult and traditional politics, as a *permanent* apparatus on the American campus.

What creates this cohesion is not some highly structured political philosophy or platform. Rather the cohesion comes from a mood, the self-validating premises of youth, a battery of marching slogans, and a life-style and culture exemplified in particular kinds of clothes, hair-do's, eye-glasses, music, and vocabulary which has altered psychological distances. Above all, this cohesion is strengthened by the certainty that whenever a university is transformed into a campus jungle there will always be one group of faculty members to support the "non-negotiable" student demands and another faculty group of benevolent neutralists, who will be seeking peace and fellowship and honourable compromise.

By now it should be obvious that the day-to-day and coast-to-coast presence and activity of revolutionary-minded, activist students is no longer a temporary affair. It should be further obvious, but it is not, that the objective of the radicalised students (and some faculty) is total change, total seizure, total paralysis, total alienation, total totality. And while some people seem to have problems about defining the ultimate aims of the proposed revolution, it would appear to be simply this: to overthrow existing democratic societies in the name of more democracy. Or in the words of Robespierre, one of the founding fathers of totalist democracy, "*Le gouvernement de la Révolution est le despotisme de la liberté contre la tyrannie...*" These radicalised students have decided that the university must be made the permanent base and concentration centre for an American revolution of "the Left."

As a result, negotiating "demands" with the Students for a Democratic Society has proved to be a pointless exercise except as it represents a struggle for the loyalties of the great middle of the 7 million college and university students now enrolled in U.S. educational institutions.

How many radicalised university students are there? It is difficult to estimate. The *New York Times* (10 November 1968) reported a survey of 860 campuses by the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, N.J. It showed that while the number of radical left organisations has almost doubled in the last three years, the percentage of activists among students has remained unchanged—about 2 per cent, or 134,000 of the total enrolment. An additional 8–10 per cent are described as strongly sympathetic to the “movement for social change [and] capable of temporary activation depending on the issues.” Daniel Seligman in *Fortune Magazine* (January 1969) estimates campus activists as less than 2 per cent but argues that “behind this minority is a much larger, much less conspicuous group with similar dissident attitudes. . . . Something like 750,000 students now identify with the movement.”

No matter how the negotiation with the representatives of these forces turns out, the end is the same—there is always another and even more unacceptable “non-negotiable” demand. If the demand for “a faculty-student tribunal” and “open hearings” in the name of “due process” is granted, the accused student and his allies at the hearing accuse the panel of prejudice and illegitimacy. Thus the student newspaper, the *Spectator*, in an editorial (6 Dec. 1968), wrote:

As illegitimate bodies, the disciplinary tribunals are now in a position to take but one legitimate action—the action of disbanding. . . . As illegitimate bodies, they have only the right to consider their illegitimacy and declare themselves illegitimate. They do not have the right to conduct hearings or to demand cooperation from students.

With such editorial support, the next step is inevitable—breakup of the panel hearing by disruption. I have before me the transcript of a disciplinary hearing (19 November 1968) of a Columbia Law School student who had, with other SDS followers, tried to prevent registration for the Fall semester and had himself fought with a campus policeman. The transcript reads like a scene out of Bert Brecht by early Clifford Odets.

¹ To understand the inspiration of the SDS tactic, the reader should consult the section in V. I. Lenin's “Left-Wing” Communism: *An Infantile Disorder* (1920) entitled “Should We Participate in Bourgeois Parliaments?” Khrushchev's shoe-pounding at the UN in October 1960 is an example of this tactic, which was also used at Columbia—“... students, scattered across the auditorium, began pounding their shoes on the desks, throwing paper airplanes and yelling ‘Disband!’” (*Columbia Daily Spectator*, 20 November 1968).

Three senior Law School professors were part of the student-faculty panel. Whenever one of the professors asked the student's defence counsel a question about a point of law or fact, the SDS audience—I quote directly from the transcript—shouted:

“None of this bullshit about procedure.”

“Are you cats getting off the bench or not?”

“Murderers! Up against the wall!”

“We want a revolution now.”

“Shit or get off the pot.”

The transcript concludes:

Whereupon a man from the audience seized the gavel from the Tribunal's desk and walked along the desk kicking aside the papers thereupon. The Tribunal left their places briefly and conferred.

The hearing was adjourned to 18 December 1968 when it was disrupted again, this time by Mark Rudd, leader of the campus disorders last Spring, who called the panel members “pigs.” The panel decision a week later was for probation, a meaningless sanction at universities today.¹

It was no secret that the SDS would try to break up the hearings. It was announced in leaflets and at meetings. Faculty and administration remained silent, uttered no word of warning or caution in advance of or after the event. They obviously have a healthy respect for the *apparatus* of this revolutionary sub-culture which preaches the doctrine of permanent revolution and which in so doing has created a significant bloc of student revolutionaries comparable, say, to those who closed Tokyo University, the *Freie Universität* in Berlin, the Sorbonne, and the State College in San Francisco.

UNFORTUNATELY WHAT SEEMS OBVIOUS to me (for I have been a graduate student at Columbia since 1966) is not so obvious to faculty and administration, most of whom seem to believe that all the unpleasantness will blow over in time, in a year, or two. The young men and women who lead and work with SDS, and even those who have split from SDS over differences in tactics and strategy, will be enjoying their togetherness again in Spring, quite unlike irreconcilable Stalinists and Trotskyites (or Khrushchevites and Maoists). These young people are a different breed of professional revolutionaries to whom the burning struggle is more important than dogma. If there is any dogma at all, it is confrontationism. By and large, they do little else day and night but plan and plot, and not very secretly, the next sortie, the next revolutionary probe, the next leaflet, the next battle. Several of them I know remind me of

the old description (by Paul Axelrod) of Lenin as a man "absorbed by the Revolution 24 hours a day, who had no other thoughts but the thought of revolution and who even when he slept dreamt nothing but revolution..." Some of these graduate students are so immersed in revolution that their final examinations and term papers in one course dealing with modern revolutions were replete with attacks on the young professor who taught the course and who, of course, had to grade this scholarly output.

Lenin, however, might have had mixed feelings about these "infantile disorders." There is the case of one professor who opposed expulsion of one student on "dialectical" grounds. According to his theory, if Lenin hadn't been expelled from the University at Kazan, "there might not have been a Bolshevik Revolution..."

These students are shrewd, very dedicated, gifted agit-prop experts. They know better than to try to seize banks or corporations, headquarters of what they call the "military industrial complex" or to occupy supermarkets, or invade police stations (all of which are within convenient marching distances from student headquarters). They know they are fairly safe taking over colleges and universities because they have learned well this important guide-line for campus guerrillas. *If you can influence or, better yet, morally intimidate some part of the faculty, victory is certain.* "We live in wondrous times," Bismarck once said, "in which the strong is weak because of his moral

scruples and the weak grows strong because of his audacity..." It is also helpful to know that if you move against the university you will not be shot, jailed for very long or clubbed very hard, and that if you are arrested, you will be sprung on bail in no time at all; or if convicted, the University itself will be appealing to the district attorney or the judge to quash the sentence. A university administration today is fairly impotent when large sections of university faculties act as shield, ally and buckler for any group of students which is obsessed by utopianism, revolutionism, confrontationism, and a romantic quasi-religious sense of a mission deriving from a credo consisting of occult references to Che Guevara's immortality.

In addition to allies in the faculty, the radicalised students at American universities have one other source of great support—the vague sense of youthful solidarity among their fellow-students.² The Administration is no ally, except unwittingly. The radical students work apart from ethnic minorities, particularly from black students who are now enforcing their own segregation, socially and politically. The revolutionaries cannot call the police or military their allies, nor the trade unions, workers, farmers, press or other media (although they are granted enormous space and visibility because they are such a dramatic story). The older intelligentsia, particularly that sector with a Stalinist/anti-Stalinist background and German *émigré* professors, are against "the movement," even though they do little practically to resist the disrupters. Business and industrial interests oppose them. Few religious leaders (except for a handful of swinging priests and rabbis) are on their side. Most politicians carefully avoid involving themselves in university fracas except for Governor Ronald Reagan of California and the pre-convention Richard M. Nixon.³

Yet despite this lack of visible means of support, these young Jacobins have cut down university administrators, forced curriculum changes, halted classes, closed campuses and sent a nation-wide chill of fear through the university establishment. At Columbia they forced the resignation of President Grayson Kirk last August and, in January, that of David B. Truman (the executive vice-president who until the revolution had been understood to be Kirk's successor). Truman had no alternative but to resign after a large sector of the Columbia faculty opted for the student minority whose extra-legal excesses they could persuade them-

² This is a potential, not often or completely realised in action. A survey at Columbia showed that while a majority of students and faculty supported the Columbia strike goals last Spring, overwhelming majorities of both students and faculty rejected the tactics. Allen H. Barton, "The Columbia Crisis: Campus, Vietnam and the Ghetto," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 1968), pp. 333-351.

³ Months before he obtained the G.O.P. nomination, President Nixon called on Columbia to "rid the campus now" of student groups responsible for disruptions. He called the Columbia disorders "the first major skirmish in a revolutionary struggle to seize the universities of this country and transform them into sanctuaries for radicals and vehicles for revolutionary political and social goals." He warned that "if that student violence is either rewarded or goes unpunished, then the administration of Columbia University will have guaranteed a new crisis on its own campus and invited student coups on other campuses all over this country." Academic freedom, he said, "dictates that the rationally committed stand up and resist the dictates of [the] emotionally committed." (*New York Times*, 16 May 1968.)

selves to forgive. Truman could not be forgiven because his very presence at Columbia rebuked faculty supineness. And, after all, he had even accepted the faculty's advice on how to handle building seizures.⁴

The Pattern of Disruption

DESPITE ALL THAT has happened and even as the SDS plans its *sacre du printemps*, the Columbia faculty remains split, notably that intellectual wing involved in the social sciences and humanities. It is the students in the social sciences, particularly in the graduate school, who are the most revolutionary. Surveys agree that students with "left-liberal family predispositions and backgrounds" select the social sciences. Sociology, of course, has become the war-horse of the struggle, since its subject-matter covers self-involving topics—poverty, race, class, war-and-peace, anti-colonialism. Thus for student militants, the social sciences are arenas for their activism. For their teachers, many of them erstwhile "men of the Left," their chastening experiences over recent decades have made them aware of the complexities in making vast generalisations about human behaviour and institutions.

"Hence, when a campus turns activist," one professor explained to me, "the tensions will be greatest within the social sciences. The faculty is likely to be divided with some adhering or returning to their old Leftism, while others ad-

here to the a-political scholarly conception of the discipline. There are also likely to be severe divisions between activist students and faculty. The militant students deny the notion of a 'scientific' approach to social science. Everything is 'ideological' to them. The tensions which continue result in a breakdown of morale within the social sciences, and a high rate of defection by faculty from institutions where tensions run high.

"One can't have good social science in a politicised university. Social science becomes what the radical students want to make it, an arena for partisan debate and conflict. Faculty are judged by students in terms of their politics. And since social science students tend to be predominantly Left, this means that senior faculty members, particularly, feel very much under attack."

Columbia, like its peers, is becoming a highly politicised institution as its faculty finds it impossible to establish some kind of consensus about what should be done, say, in the event of building seizures, the breaking-up of classes, or acts of so-called "creative vandalism." As a foretaste of the future, about forty or fifty classes have already been broken up or disrupted; nothing, so far as I can judge, has been done about it. The news is even withheld from the press so as not to "aggravate" the atmosphere.

In one case, a young lecturer was subjected in advance to a taste of what he was to teach. The course was "*Government 4411x*, Political Systems of Revolutionary and Post-revolutionary Societies," a brand-new entry in the Columbia catalogue, where it is described as follows:

A comparative assessment of the effect of a revolution upon a political system, with emphasis on the French, Russian and Chinese cases. Attention is given to the foreign and domestic aims of revolutionary *élites*, the causes and consequences of widespread organised violence, and the demands upon the political system created by the rapid destruction of old values and institutions.

Within a few minutes after he had started his lecture, a minority of students began to bombard the instructor, Michael Oksenberg, with questions as well as salty comments about his teaching talent and general knowledgeability. The questions demanded his personal views on revolution, his definition of politics, and the dissolution of the lecture course (180 students) into smaller groups. Admittedly, the disruptionists were a small minority, possibly no

⁴Columbia Professor Arthur C. Danto has written, "... the Ad Hoc Faculty Group, by opposing amnesty and bust [*i.e.*, calling in the police], prolonged the demonstration and elevated the final violence. Had the police come that first Friday [26 April 1968], *when in deference to faculty sentiment the administration reversed its decision to request them*, the buildings might have been efficiently cleared, there being few bystanders at the time." (*New Republic*, 25 January 1969, p. 25, italics added). Danto was himself a member of the Ad Hoc Faculty Group. The administration figure who reversed that decision in deference to faculty sentiment was Truman.

One august Columbia professor I have spoken to has just begun to forgive Truman for having rejected his advice that the Columbia 1968 Commencement be cancelled. The Commencement was held indoors, not outdoors as usual, with no untoward incident. The "academic lynching" of David Truman is considered by some the most shameful aspect of the Columbia Revolution which should haunt faculty consciences for many years. An eminent political scientist and former Columbia College dean, Truman is now president of Mt. Holyoke College, a Massachusetts school for women.

more than two dozen; needless to say, the student newspaper described the event through the eyes of one of the disrupters.

WHAT FOLLOWED this class disruption is rather indicative of the jejuneness of many of the faculty. Oksenberg was telephoned by a number of his colleagues who offered to come and "show the flag" by sitting in his lecture-hall the following week. He thanked all for their offer but said he could handle it. The most conspicuous faculty failure was the absence of any public protest by the faculty, or by one single member in the student press, or elsewhere, against a "happening" that would have brought thunderous faculty outcries had the disruption been instigated by some reactionary, or Right-wing, or drop-the-bomb-now or racist group of student militants.

Last December, a month after the Oksenberg class disruption, the class of Professor James Shenton, a well-known historian of the U.S. Civil War, was interrupted by students unknown. A few days later they issued a leaflet to explain why they had engaged in "classroom intervention" against a faculty member who had been "100 per cent all-out" for the student revolutionaries last Spring and who was still for them. The leaflet explained:

We do not aim to criticise James P. Shenton as an individual; rather we aim to criticise our insane, repressive and inhumane society. Within our society, the University serves as an "Officers' Candidate School," socialising tomorrow's leaders. Shenton is one of the more appealing functionaries in this School. Like the smiling recruiting officers, he is doing his socially prescribed job in the best way he knows how. It is precisely because he is a "good teacher" and a "nice" fellow, that he is dangerous. The point is that gentle Jim Shenton is doing violence to you, and to himself, by creating a false consciousness of security within the University.... Some have called Shenton a "radical." His "radicalism" conceals the reality of his role. He accepts a position within the existing hierarchy. He lives the status of "professor" and thereby perpetuates the inferior status of the student and the custodian (who may have five kids but only one-tenth of a professor's salary)....

The leaflet was written in the form of a dialogue between un-named students who presumably resented the class intervention—"You're violating the rights of the other students.... You're violating academic freedom.... We wanted to hear Shenton and you wouldn't let us...." The leaflet answered:

Of course, you have the right to do what you want, but you also have the responsibility to ask yourself whether you *really* want what you think you want. If market research can create artificial needs (alienated desires) such as fatless fat and sugarless sugar, isn't it also likely that a similar technique has created an artificial need for a university education.... True, we imposed on you. Our purpose in doing so was to point out how "legitimate authority" imposes on you every day in a thousand ways, so much so that their impositions are accepted as "natural," while ours was disturbing because unusual.

Your right to do what you please is always qualified by your responsibility not to violate the same right of others (to life and sanity, for example) both in this country and abroad. Your passivity in accepting this part of the system is a political act for which you are responsible. We challenge your action....

Such norms (as falling silent when the professor speaks, accepting his control of discussion, refraining from writing on the blackboard, not entering or leaving the classroom except at prescribed times, not discussing "personal" matters, etc.) serve to perpetuate the existing system and its inhumanity and injustices....

You say "It's rude" to interrupt your class for ten minutes, but you probably don't bat an eye to hear that 2,000 Vietnamese have been killed and 5,000 Biafrans have starved this week. How are you protesting these "insults" to humanity?... It's not necessarily the responsibility of the critic to produce a solution to the problem he sees. We feel that the existing society is repressive (tolerant tho' this repression may seem). We seek to end this repression. This is ample work for the present. Would you ask the prisoner escaping from a concentration camp to produce a "better alternative"? (Better what? A better concentration camp?)

When I discussed this leaflet with a senior professor, he cautioned me not to blame the leaflet on the SDS but only on the "irresponsible Yippies." Later that day I mentioned this caveat to an SDS leader. He smiled as he told me that he himself had written the text, adding, "Does Professor M— really think that the 'Yippies' are smart enough to write such a leaflet?"

This concern by a faculty member not to "blame the SDS unjustly" is one reason why SDS leaders, rightly or wrongly, have the feeling that they needn't worry about the rules of behaviour for student activism as laid down by the Faculty Executive Committee. Another reason is the fact that the faculty has studiously avoided public notice of several SDS sorties in recent months—an unsuccessful attempt to stop registration last Fall, a similarly unsuccessful attempt in January to prevent military recruiting, and the spoilage of some 30,000 registration

records by activists who dumped scarlet paint over them as they were unpacked at Columbia's Teachers College. No one, however, should interpret the adjective "unsuccessful" as signifying failure. On the contrary, the morning after SDS failed to stop the military recruiting, an Administration official pointed glumly to a three-column photo in the *New York Times*, showing post-demonstration fisticuffs among Columbia students. The official said: "Maybe SDS didn't stop the recruiting but that photograph is *their* triumph, not Columbia's..."⁵

AFTER EVERY "FAILURE," the student insurrectionaries reform their battle-lines, find still another issue, call another mass meeting, issue yet another sheaf of leaflets and march again, two steps forward for any step backward. So an SDS defeat is a victory and an Adminis-

tration-Faculty victory is a defeat. The SDS "guerrillas in the field of culture" fight an unlimited war against an institution which by its very nature can only fight—if at all—a limited campaign.⁶

The Failure of Nerve

IT IS NOW a year since the first Columbia I take-over, the most savage attack on academic freedom at Columbia in half a century. Last year the disruptions could self-righteously be blamed on Grayson Kirk and Truman, but who will now be the scapegoat?

This year, the Faculty (or part of it) struggled for almost half a year before it was able to publish a statement of principles on how to deal with the student revolutionaries. From what I know of the preparation of this manifesto ("The University as a Sanctuary of Academic Freedom"), it was a horrendous chore for the small group of professors who felt *something* ought to be said—consensually—by the faculty on the Columbia crisis. Nights and weekends of negotiation for this word, for that phrase, for different formulations and amended punctuation—it seemed as if the statement would never emerge. When finally the statement, signed by several hundred academicians,⁷ did appear on 10 March it carefully avoided saying what ought to be done if SDS ignored the faculty consensus and engaged in revolutionary tactics similar to last year's (or worse). Despite what sounded like strong language—"...the university has the right, and indeed the obligation, to defend itself"—the statement failed dismally to deal with the all-important question: *when* may a university order the use of legitimate force "to defend itself"? What is fact is that had the statement attempted to transcend its pieties and proceed towards spelling out these conditions, it would have been *impossible* to obtain any significant number of signatures. Accustomed to immunity from outside pressures, the Columbia faculty seems particularly inept at dealing with the internal pressures generated by a handful of students whose interests quite clearly are not in educational reform or "curriculum building" but in avowedly revolutionary acts, *e.g.*, the abolition of Columbia's School of International Affairs, preventing the University from buying neighbourhood real estate for future expansion, or abrogating the conventional Faculty right to vote on academic tenure.⁸ Were the attack on

⁵ From the *New York Times*, 5 February 1969: "Applications for admission to Columbia College's freshman class next Fall have dropped 21 per cent from last year because of last spring's riots on the campus, the director of admissions said yesterday." Applications to Barnard College, Columbia's sister college, dropped 11 per cent last year.

⁶ From the *News-Letter* of the Graduate Student Union of Columbia University (25 September 1968, p. 3): "The chief task, then, is to advance on the 'cultural front.' And the only current institutions capable of sustaining such an offensive seem to be the universities. Thus we must begin to create for ourselves within the universities an atmosphere where 'guerrillas in the field of culture' can flourish..." (The "guerrilla" phrase is, of course, Fidel Castro's.)

⁷ Among the signers: Jacques Barzun, Daniel Bell, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Charles Frankel, Fred Friendly, Eli Ginzburg, Richard Hofstadter, Donald Keene, Paul Kristeller, Paul Henry Lang, Joseph Mazzeo, Robert K. Merton, Ivan Morris, Philip E. Mosely, Ernest Nagel, Meyer Schapiro, Fritz Stern, Lionel Trilling, Rudolf Wittkower.

⁸ A faculty friend told me of how after supporting a resolution in his department for student participation in curriculum revision, he came to one of the first meetings only to discover that the students elected to the committee were not in attendance. They had come to the first meeting and participated in some of the discussion. The second meeting—no students. The faculty members then made the decisions on the new curriculum and adjourned. Later, when the professor dropped in at a neighbouring gramophone shop, he saw one of the "no-show" student committee members listening to records. He had forgotten about the meeting. A student member of another joint committee criticised faculty members because he suspected they weren't as "frank" in the presence of student members as in their absence.

academic freedom from the John Birch Society or from followers of George Wallace or from some reactionary and philistine State Legislature, the Columbia faculty, like any faculty in America, would know exactly what to do. The response would be swift, heroic, and efficacious. Yet these same intellectuals, many of whom were able to mount a powerful propaganda assault against President Johnson and Viet Nam, are still unable to contain the "Left" assault from within, even though the SDS and its allies represent little more than five per cent of Columbia's 17,500 students.

WHAT HAS CREATED this vacuum of leadership, this failure of nerve at Columbia and similar institutions? For one

⁹ The only rules which are obeyed are those which abolish rules. For example, the parietal regulations in Columbia's all-male student dormitories used to regulate visiting hours for female guests. These were amended to what is now called "24-hour parietals" which is a euphemism for no parietals at all. Female guests can come and go when they please. Some girls are living in the dormitories full-time. One official told me the university is delighted that it is no longer in "the rooming-house business." A current witticism among faculty members is to ask, "Do you believe in pre-parietal intercourse?" Evidently "sex problems" are much easier to solve than problems in politics and culture.

¹⁰ As Professor Richard Hofstadter put it in his address at the 1968 Commencement, "Trustees, administrators and students tend to agree that in ultimate reality the members of the faculty are the university, and we of the faculty have not been disposed to deny it." He went on to say:

"The technique of the forcible occupation and closure of a university's buildings with the intention of bringing its activities to a halt is... a thrust at the vitals of university life. It is a powerful device for control by a determined minority, and its continued use would be fatal to any university. In the next few years the universities of this country will have to find the effective strategy to cope with it, and to distinguish it sharply and permanently from the many devices of legitimate student petition, demonstration and protest."

¹¹ Professor Robert Cross, an outstanding Columbia historian before he became president of Hunter College, has criticised faculty apathy (his own included) for the crisis. "The faculty simply sluffed off. It didn't bother to see where the University was moving. It's incredible that I sat there for years unconcerned..." (*Columbia Daily Spectator*, 7 Nov. 1968.)

thing, few faculty members any longer expect orderly debate and intellectual discourse under recognised rules, nor does anyone expect compliance or support of such traditional liberal conventions.⁹ The reason for the present collapse of compliance and lack of enforcement of normal academic discipline is that those who run the universities—and they are not the Trustees or the Administration but the faculty¹⁰—have quietly decided that for the foreseeable future the university is no longer a place where truth is to be pursued. What has been tacitly ratified is a decision that the American university is primarily (not secondarily) the springboard for upward social mobility as the ascriptive right for ethnic minorities.

Let me be quite clear, in these especially sensitive times, as to what I am suggesting: when universities begin to choose an increasing number of freshmen on the basis of ethnicity and a reverse *numerus clausus*; when they begin to plan curricula on the basis of student political pressure; when faculty members begin to be selected not on the basis of recognised scholarly achievement but on colour and/or ideological affiliation, then the University may conceivably be performing useful, perhaps even necessary social acts, but it is no longer involved in the pursuit of truth. This is not to say that, until now, the American university has been a "parfit gentil knight." Far from it, but at least the standard was there, as an ideal goal. As Jacques Barzun points out in his recent book, *The American University*, neither scholarship nor teaching is any longer "the central concern of the university or its members." Society, he argues, has turned itself over to education and created "a mandarin system [whereby] in order to achieve any goal, however modest, one must qualify."

In this degradation of higher education, faculties participated just as lustily as did administrators and trustees, and no faculty more so than Columbia's.¹¹ Columbia's decline didn't begin with Grayson Kirk's tenure, although he did very little to stop the downhill slide. It began with the paralysing interregnum following the passing of the Nicholas Murray Butler era and the appointment of General Dwight Eisenhower as University President. The faculty accepted a "public relations" appointment without a word of protest. They assuaged conscience by exercising the *ius murmurandi*, retailing among themselves Ike's gaffes, solecisms, and general philistinism.

Are American Universities Viable?

NO UNIVERSITY IS VIABLE unless it has a sense of its own security, and only a faculty can endow the institution with this sense of security. Its own principles of solidarity are essential. When legitimised force, indispensable to the maintenance of a legitimated institution, becomes "illegitimate" at the instant of application or at the threat of application, that institution is no longer capable of ruling. This is the situation of all the large American universities today. They are subject to seizure or paralysing sit-ins with or without notice. Courses can be cancelled by the pressure of demonstrations in a classroom.¹³

To make explicit what I mean by the illegitimising of legitimacy I want to report what happened during a Columbia sit-in on 27 February when SDS occupied two buildings as a protest against optional military training. According to the campus newspaper report, this is what happened:

Shortly after the sit-in began, Athena Constantine, director of the placement office, announced that she had been directed to tell the protesters that they were "obstructing a University office" and must leave. The students continued their discussion.

Moments later, Paul Lehmann, an assistant dean of admission, told the demonstrators that if they did not leave the hall in fifteen minutes, he would ask them for their identification cards. The group voted overwhelmingly to remain past the deadline.

At 1 p.m. when the time limit had elapsed,

¹³ "The Harvard Graduate School of Design scrapped today a course that was to have developed an action programme for the effective control and eventual elimination of riots in urban areas, after more than 100 Negro students forced cancellation of the course's first semester. It substituted, under the same professor, an unstructured seminar open to all students to develop new ideas for an urban education programme at Harvard." (*New York Times*, 8 Feb. 1969.) In the same edition, the *Times* reported the following incidents—a University of Chicago faculty disciplinary committee chairman had been waylaid by student demonstrators who broke up the hearing; at the University of Wisconsin students disrupted classes and marched on the campus; at the University of North Carolina there was a peaceful occupation of the main administration building ground floor; Negro students at the State University, Stony Brook, N.Y., demanded Negro faculty members and Negro studies as have been demanded at other institutions with white student support.

Mr. Lehmann began reciting the Interim Rules on campus protest while the crowd heckled. When he and another University official began asking the students for their I.D. cards, one student yielded his identification, but the rest refused, yelling: "We're all Eldridge Cleaver!"

The proctor (an Administration official) then told the crowd that if they kept cleared a path to each office, the demonstration would be declared legal. Paths were cleared, the doors were unlocked, the employees entered the offices unobstructed.

At 1.45 p.m., the protesters filed out of both buildings and returned to the steps of Low Library. One speaker told the crowd, "The Cordier myth has been shattered; the Cordier myth is over. We're gonna say to Andrew Cordier what we said to Kirk—up against the wall, motherfucker."

The new president of Columbia, Dr. Andrew Cordier, was arraigned last Fall by SDS students as the man who had "murdered" Patrice Lumumba during the time Cordier was a high U.N. official. Candlelight marches to "mourn" Lumumba (eight years after his assassination) and mass meetings were held on the campus to dramatise Cordier's "complicity." The only visible faculty reaction to this Goebbels-like exercise in the "Big Lie" was a letter of exculpation in the college daily by Arthur Lall, a former Indian diplomat now teaching at Columbia. When I expressed my curiosity to a senior professor at this faculty silence in the face of character assassination, he replied that "some accusations are so contemptible that we should apply the Oxford method—ignore them..." Several weeks later, Cordier was confronted at a press reception on the campus by forty SDS members, one of whom presented him with a "subpoena" to stand trial for "crimes against the students and residents of Morningside Heights." When some of the guests laughed, an SDS leader faced around to them and said: "Some of you may laugh at this, but this man is a criminal." (*Columbia Spectator*, 22 Nov. 1968.) Quite obviously, SDS is not to be shamed by the minatory silence of the senior professors.

What causes this paralysis of will among men of learning and decency? Is it the very idea of youth in its current romanticisation as the essence of purity, freedom, virility, and the future? How is it that the teen-age student seems to so many of them to hypostasise the virtues of the charismatic leader with mission announced and obedience demanded? Perhaps

youth seems infallible, omniscient and incorruptible to those professors whose prestige is measured by how little time they devote to teaching and to office hours for students. I mention the case of a student in one of my seminars who had his appointment with the professor cancelled at the last minute (it had taken weeks to get it) because the distinguished man had to appear on television that night to discuss some burning issue in world affairs; another professor who, in the recent years of campus crisis, has been on year-long leaves, and has threatened regularly to resign because of the vices of the *ancien régime*. It is not the first time in history that the guilt-ridden old seek redemption in the young, but the young also have their problematical disorders, and only a Freud of political neuroses can diagnose the point at which they both meet. Nothing from the past—neither Rousseau's youth-cult nor Bakunin's nihilism, or even Spengler's vision of a new barbarian horde of young urban vandals—satisfactorily explains the student uprisings the world over.

The university revolutionaries are unencumbered by old-style entanglements with the great ideological movements of Communism and Fascism. For them, Mao, Che, Fidel, and Ho are cultural, not political, figures. They know little of Hitler and Mussolini and care less about Nazis, Fascists, John Birchers, George Wallace-ites, racists, *et al.* Perhaps it is impossible to deal with the SDS because its allies and followers belong to no adult political society, no responsible subversive movement with a centre or an intellectual or spiritual headquarters. The visible aim of their tactics (unlike a workers' strike where an attempt is made to improve wages and social conditions) is apocalyptic: to smash and destroy and overthrow and transcend. The evil institution must be levelled. But who is so wildly cynical as to think that their aim is to take Cordier's chair as President and to place ten SDSers on the Board of Trustees?

An SDS member arose in the banquet room of the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago where a dinner honouring the new University of Chicago president, Dr. Edward Levi, was in progress. The SDS youth shouted out to McGeorge Bundy on the dais:

You are responsible for the genocide in Viet Nam. You're soaked in blood and your stench of death fills the room. I'm going to join my brothers in the street where the air is cleaner. . .

(I am quoting from an SDS publication, *Hard Core*, 20 Dec. 1968, p. 12.) I asked a Columbia SDS supporter how denouncing Bundy in this fashion would accomplish the destruction of the Ford Foundation. He answered me: "This is how we show the Establishment, and the Power Elite, how powerless they are to deal with us! . . ."

AT COLUMBIA TODAY, as in other urban universities throughout the U.S.A., we are witnessing the exercise of legitimated dual power, Student-Faculty as "the party of movement" and Faculty-Administration as "the party of order." But it is the student front which has learned how to convert myths into political power and how to use power to acquire more power, how to annul hierarchical structures without really trying. The student front's most important safeguard is that "military intervention" against confrontationism is no longer feasible at Columbia and at most other private universities. Thus Wayne Booth, dean of the University of Chicago undergraduate school, said:

The moment we call the police we have brought the institution downward. This would mean we are no longer able to govern ourselves. . . (*Newsweek*, 17 Feb. 1969, p. 71.)

The university's six-storey administration building was seized on 30 January and held by students for sixteen days to protest against the dismissal of—you guessed it—a female assistant professor of sociology after the unanimous vote of the tenured social science faculty that "the intellectual quality of her work did not meet the standard required for reappointment in her department."

At Columbia, the debate as to which group—students, faculty, or administration—should run the university prevents it from being run at all. Bonapartism may work in underdeveloped countries where the military can be the party of both order and movement, but clearly it doesn't work at universities, one-time seats of high culture and academic isolationism, where the faculty resists involvement with campus and pedagogical affairs. As Professor Robert Nisbet has written, sixty per cent of all academics in American universities "have so profound a distaste for the classroom and for the pains of

genuine scholarship or creative thought that they will seize upon anything . . . to exempt themselves respectively from each."

There is another reason why the radical student revolutionaries are difficult for the faculty to deal with. This is a movement, as I said earlier, which is unrelated to adult political life. It is different from the kind of extremism to which the liberal-intelligentsia has been exposed in the era of totalitarianism. The great issue of the 1940s and '50s and early '60s was Stalinism and post-Stalinism (East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Cuba). Communist totalitarianism was a cultural as well as a political entity. The liberal-intelligentsia could resist the Communist movement with political-cultural initiatives, ranging from counter-demonstrations (like New York's famous anti-Stalinist Waldorf-Astoria conference in 1949) to picketing the Soviet Embassy. (No one would suggest a demonstration or picket-line outside SDS headquarters because, for one thing, no one is really sure where it is!) In a real sense one always knew what the Communist Party was up to by watching the Soviet press or speeches and reacting accordingly. Everyone knew that the CP-USA was not interested in revolution but in mustering support for Soviet foreign policy. With the SDS, there is no *partiinost*; there is no tangible political line either to fight or to understand. Moscow means very little to them before or after Czechoslovakia. For Cohn-Bendit, Russian and French Communists are "*crapules staliniennes*." Since there is no organised focus for the international youth movement—the moment one uses the phrase one realises there is no "international youth movement" in which a Rudi Dutschke or a Mario Savio hands down orders to his oblates—it is rather difficult to engage in political struggle and counter-struggle. So the far-sighted professor prepares for violent seizures and disruptions by removing personal files, research data, precious books and favourite pipe from his private office. After all, two professorial offices were burned during the last Columbia *putsch*, and it is little solace to be told by SDS partisans that the arson was committed by "police *agents-provocateurs*," not by revolutionary students.

This political "generational gap" is exceeded by the intellectual "generational gap" which makes conversation and debate with the student revolutionaries a dialogue of the deaf. Most middle-aged faculty members of the Liberal Left have lived through or personally experi-

enced great traumas—the disillusion after World War I, the great Depression, the disenchantment with Communism and the Moscow trials, the war in Spain, the threat of Fascism, Genocide, World War II, the Joe McCarthy period with its "Age of Suspicion." It appears to be impossible for the middle-aged to communicate the feeling of being jobless, of being "betrayed" by Stalin and his epigones, the feeling of identification and choking weakness at the news of Auschwitz, the fear of ultimate weapons. The 1930–60 generations went through ordeals which simply preclude communication between those in the 40–50 age group and those in their late 'teens and early 20s, even with the Viet Nam War. There can only be bewilderment when a greying or balding professor, who has lost faith in the miracles of government intervention and welfare statism, reads in a revolutionary student leaflet that "the politicisation of the university is of prime importance for the creation of the objective and subjective conditions for building a revolutionary socialist movement in America. . . ." Short of mounting a soap-box in opposition, a professor has the options of "internal emigration" from the university, supporting such a movement, leaving university life and changing his job, or just hoping "it'll go away" as other cultural fads have done. A week before the Columbia revolt, a professor whom I respect and admire said to me as we strolled across College Walk: "You know, there's no more wonderful job in the world than being a tenure professor at a university like Columbia. You can do what you want. Nobody can tell you what to do. You can write or not, publish or not; it doesn't matter, you won't perish. . . ."

Seven months later, this same tenure professor was devoting all of his spare time to disciplinary hearings and committee meetings and assorted *ad hoc* sessions over and above his lectures and seminars. He and many of his colleagues had been forced into a new way of life by an unstructured political-cultural movement whose leaders, as Professor Stanley Hoffmann has written, "display a flamboyant ideological style devoid of ideology." Instead of reading their professional journals, or the books of their colleagues, they now read the mimeographed leaflets, the protest pamphlets, the "exposés" of the faculty in the college newspaper, and volumes like the Cox Commission's report on the Investigation into the Columbia

Disorders.¹³ The joys of being a tenure professor are no more. "Those were the days, my friend, we thought they'd never end. . . ."

"Winter of Our Content"

I AM WRITING this in February, amidst a 14-inch blizzard which has halted all traffic in Manhattan. One faculty member murmured, "Now is the winter of our content. . . ." But the snows will melt, the spring freshets will begin to flow. Will it all happen again? There seems to be agreement that the revolution of the

¹³ The Cox report (named after its chairman, Professor Archibald Cox of Harvard) exemplifies something Walter Lippmann wrote in his *Drift and Mastery*, more than half a century ago: "There is in America today a distinct prejudice in favour of those who make the accusations." The Cox report seems to accept on a one-to-one basis the Columbia events—the Administration did this, the reaction was that; the Faculty did such-and-such, such-and-such followed. It is a sort of Greek tragedy written in "labour mediation" language in which everybody is right and in which everything is inevitable. The report was questioned by A. M. Rosenthal, an editor of the *New York Times*, as to its finding (p. 108) that "there was no substantial vandalism" in President Kirk's office resulting from SDS seizure and occupation for one week. Rosenthal queried Columbia for a bill of particulars and was told that repairs and refurbishing the President's office came to—\$4,572.

Vice-Provost Herbert Deane attacked Cox for having quoted from an interview in the college newspaper without checking whether the quoted material was accurate or not. Deane had protested to the college newspaper when the interview had first appeared and now was outraged that the Cox Commission hadn't taken the trouble during its hearings on the campus to verify the misquotation attributed to him. *Si non è vero, è ben trovato*. (The Cox report is titled *Crisis at Columbia*, Vintage paperback, 1968.)

¹⁴ In March I was told by an academic that "it all looks good for spring—nothing is going to happen because the blacks are talking, thank God. They're demanding everything and that's good because it means we can negotiate." On 13 March a meeting took place behind closed doors between the Black Students' society and the Administration. The Negroes insisted that neither side issue any press statement. They were asking for an autonomous "Black Cultural Institute," to be administered by a board of students and faculty and—I am quoting the student newspaper—"outside experts on the black experience." Barnard College for women has already agreed to an Afro-American study programme and to segregated, separate, dormitory facilities for black students as demanded by the Barnard Organisation of Soul Sisters (boss).

millennial zealots will take place, although no one is quite certain about the role which black students will play in any *putsch*. One professor said to me, "For us the big question is what are the blacks doing and saying—no one can reach them." (One of my SDS friends said with a touch of malice when I asked him why Negro students were saying little—"Maybe they haven't anything to say, did you ever think of that?") SDS, however, will listen to SAS (Students' Afro-American Society) demands. For example, SDS was ready to launch an all-out attack on one Left-Liberal professor, for much the same reason they did against James Shenton. In fact, I heard one SDS speaker at a rally attack this professor by name. A day later an SAS official told SDS to "lay off" this professor—a white, but one who had written extensively and favourably on anti-colonial movements. SDS laid off. If white defers to black, black no longer defers to white. Last fall, the spokesman for SAS warned that Negro students at Columbia would not become "the black tail on a white radical dog." No melting pot for the revolutionaries! As Mark Rudd told the *New York Times* (19 May 1968):

I was never really attracted to civil rights. There was too much idealisation of Negroes and they didn't seem too effective. I've always felt a tremendous barrier between me and blacks. . . .

I have intruded this particular issue because the SDS-SAS relationship may well determine the progress of the *putsch*, i.e., whether there will be successful violent take-overs of the Columbia buildings.¹⁴ One of last year's SDS veterans told me that the night before the 1968 disruption, Rudd went to the SAS leader, told him of the SDS *putsch* programme for the following day and said, "You're going to look awful foolish if you guys don't come out with us tomorrow." SAS came out. So far this year SDS has received little support on its picket-lines or during its demonstrations from SAS or Negro students generally. There seems to be general agreement that the initial involvement of Negro students in April 1968 inhibited the Administration from an immediate call-up of the police. "The delay in calling upon the police," Professor Truman has confessed, was "dictated at the beginning by a desire to avoid inflaming the neighbouring black community [Harlem]. . . ." Professor Danto documents the mythology: "Faculty believed students were

really interested in a negotiated settlement; students believed faculty were being radicalised, and hence were incipient allies; administrators believed a major problem was civil strife between students; everyone believed Harlem would rise to devastate the campus. . . ."

Whether or not the black students involve themselves in the coming disruptions (the *casus belli* will probably be the Naval Training Programme at Columbia and a demand for its abolition) as they did last Spring, the present SDS leadership is committed to more than mere manifestos and verbal solutions for what they feel are the "gut issues" in American society. It is important to realise that they are thoroughly prepared to use "revolutionary violence" against the university; against dissident students and oppositional faculty. A tragedy is in the making at Columbia, and no one knows how to avert it.¹⁵

I asked one of the more popular graduate school professors what he would do should SDS (or the "Yippies") try to break up his lecture course. "I'd, frankly, incite the rest of the students to beat them up," he replied. "That is, if they wanted the class to continue." His point was that since no university could be expected to police every lecture-hall, it was up to the students to resist "gangsterism." The wife of one Columbia academician thought very poorly of this "solution," and she said:

How would you, as a parent, like it if you heard that students were fighting in the classroom and that your son might get brained or brain somebody else? . . .

SDS HAS ANOTHER ASSET this time. It is one they lacked last spring—a fragile relationship to an AFL-CIO trade union. I was made aware of this arrow in the SDS quiver during a television interview with two SDS leaders I conducted last fall for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. I asked one of them how he was reacting to newspaper reports that white workers were "flocking" to the George Wallace presidential candidacy (they never did). He an-

swered: "That's good because it shows the workers' disaffection from the System." I suggested that the last time workers showed such disaffection from the System, it was the Weimar Republic and they bought Hitler instead. "That only means we must lead this disaffection into Left channels," he said. How? "By conducting wildcat strikes among workers and radicalising them. . . ."

Columbia University, whose labour-management relations for decades were about as progressive as those of the early American steelmasters, now has union trouble on its hands which could lead to wildcat strikes among the cafeteria workers and library employees. Last spring when the students picketed the buildings, some students and faculty ignored the picket-lines on the grounds that while they would support an economic strike they wouldn't a political strike. This spring, with SDS members as union organisers, there could be a strike which might be difficult to handle because of a "Student-Worker alliance," however tenuous it is. The most serious walk-out could be at the Butler Library, one of the great institutions of its kind in the world. Last spring the Library was closed for a week during the disorders and there was even fear of arson.

One thing is quite clear about the young men and women who have emerged as the revolutionaries of our time. They are not concerned with reforming the university or introducing courses on revolution or receiving degrees in African history. They are profoundly unconcerned about who precisely will be the president of Columbia to replace Acting President Cordier. Any university president is categorically the enemy. They are concerned with the demoralisation and radicalisation of the American university, specifically Columbia, with the smashing of institutions that they feel oppress and frustrate and humiliate them. They are like the "possessed" ones in a Dostoyevsky novel, and one is reminded of Peter Verkhovensky in *The Devils*:

We don't want education. We have had enough of science. We have plenty of material without science to last us a thousand years. The thing we want is obedience. The only thing that's wanting in the world is obedience. The desire for education is an aristocratic desire. The moment a man falls in love or has a desire for a family, he gets a desire for private property. We will destroy that desire, we'll resort to drunkenness, slander, denunciations; we'll resort to unheard of depravity; we shall smother every genius in infancy. We shall reduce everything to one common denominator. Full equality.

¹⁵ "... I reviewed the lessons to be learned from other university disruptions—especially Columbia. One ingredient lacking at Columbia, I thought—because of its history and organic structure—was that there was no condemnation by the faculty and the students as a unified whole of the illegal acts on that campus." Morris B. Abram, president of Brandeis University, in the *New York Times Magazine* (16 Feb. 1969). A Brandeis building was taken over on 8 January by Negro students and held for eleven days.

The Cult of Violence

—A Special Report from Germany—

SUBTLETIES AND DISTINCTIONS are no longer necessary for those, on either side, who want to put an End to Things, "*die Schluss machen wollen*." One way or another it comes to force and violence. Semi-tones are hardly noticeable, now that revolutionaries—or those who consider themselves such—go about breaking windows, smashing down doors, and then ask the Establishment to pay the bill. The SDS catchphrase in Frankfurt is: "*Terrorise the terrorists!*" The reply from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* is: "It's time to break the terror. . . ." Terror, so it seems, is always on the other side, like intolerance and inhumanity. A Babylonian confusion of tongues reigns in Germany as the charge of "fascism" echoes from Left to Right and back again.

But there are real limits to the rhetoric. If Chancellor Kiesinger's warning of "approaching civil war" were realistic, then one might think whole areas of German cities were about to be burnt down, as in the U.S. race riots. And if the CDU cry that "The Viet Cong is among us" had a point, then snipers would be opening fire from the roof-tops. Yet the fact is that the disorders are for the most part confined to university terrain, and only occasionally spread to the city centres.

Radical students occupy institutes and administrative offices, break open locks, and burn files and documents. APO (Extra-parliamentary Opposition) groups smash plate-glass windows, as during a recent fortnight in Hamburg (America House, the PanAm Building), Frankfurt (Deutsche Bank, Stock Exchange), Berlin (the KaDeWe store); windows were broken in Spanish, Greek, and Portuguese Consulates and trade missions. Students and professors jostle with each other, and as always the Ultra Left cries "Repression" and "Victimisation!" when the police use truncheons—as they did recently in Heidelberg in removing a student commando which had been occupying university premises.

Behind this screen of words and slogans an

impenetrable thicket proliferates with all kinds of causes, motives, frustrations, and aims. There are the forces of authority who want to re-establish law and order; and there is an impassioned political movement, trying to modernise the universities, and fighting for reforms, sometimes protesting in the name of good sense, sometimes craving for "Happenings" out of neurotic tension or revolutionary zealotry.

Just as the student body is composed not only of rebels but also of the disinterested, the *engagés* and the *enragés*, so the abbreviation APO means more than the collective title "Extra Parliamentary Opposition" suggests. There are liberals and anarchists grouped together here, together with every variety of Old Marxist and New Leftist; and the various factions, in interminable disagreement, are constantly disassociating and putting "distance" between themselves. What is too strong for one is too mild for the other. If the preparation of a Molotov cocktail is a "putschist" act, some are horrified, some elated. It is undeniable that a revolutionary core has become more militant, particularly in the SDS; and although it may be true that the youthful rebels in other countries (i.e., France) are often more violent than in Germany, it is also true that the Germans—thorough as always—go beyond the others in the extremism of their theories.

What boils up in the way of extremes, particularly in little groups which prefer to stay underground, is not typical of the APO, but it is there. As the Berlin anarchist paper *Radikalinski* recommends, "Don't forget to take the gun from the lousy cop when you've bashed his face in."

PEOPLE CAN—and do—get hurt: this is no longer a vague fear born in the excited atmosphere which followed the shots fired at Rudi Dutschke. At that time students threw stones in anger and despair. Today some do it with calculated deliberation, as on 4 November when APO commandos injured 130 policemen in Berlin with a barrage of bricks and stones.

A Molotov cocktail thrown during the night of 29 January exploded in the room of the caretaker and his wife in the Heidelberg Town Hall. After the incidents of the smashed windows in Frankfurt (America House, U.S. Trade Centre,

THIS documentary report was prepared by the editors and correspondents of Der Spiegel, the liberal-left German news-weekly.

American Express Bank), the police discovered that, in one instance, the windows weren't only smashed with marbles but with bullets from a small-bore rifle. It is not to be wondered at if the German citizenry, not knowing who the actual culprits are, tends to assume them to be the Left radicals who talk this kind of violence.

Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, floundering in general weakness, could play a strong hand here in an election year. "Law and order" (*Gesetz und Ordnung*) is his slogan for the electoral contest, and he may well go far with this. "Four, eight, twelve, perhaps even another twenty years of conservative rule," complained the liberal-left *Frankfurter Rundschau* recently, "are possible if the APO and SDS continue with stone-throwing, door-smashing, and document-burning. It is all preparing public feeling for giving power to the 'Reaktion...'." Günter Grass, also a man of the Left (but to the right of violence), puts it this way: "The activities of the Ultra-Left are contributing to a picture of student protest which can be used by any right-wing demagogue longing for the return of fear psychoses..." In this "German circus act" illuminated by "Left and Right irrationalism" (Grass), violence is more and more advocated as a means of political struggle. "*Die Zeit der Spielerei ist vorbei* (the time for fun and games is over)," says SDS leader Dr. Phil. Reinhard Wolff.

Socialist students who used to be beaten up have now turned to the offensive. Those who have rid themselves of old-fashioned German obedience use their new and famous *kritische Bewusstsein* (critical consciousness) to strike out at anything they take to be "fascist." They belong to the "small radical minority": a few thousand activist APO members—and nobody really knows how many of them are capable of reaching for a cobblestone or a match. "One has simply no idea what they will get up to," says an SDS leader. Doesn't that mean that the announced university reforms, so difficult to put into practice, will only stagnate? But then, according to the SDS, the university deserves its death blow. And if the Bonn government became tough and introduced preventive custody and other tightening-up measures, well, why not—since "capitalism leads to fascism anyhow." It is a matter of indifference to them when Ho-Ho-Ho-Chi-Minh slogans and growing violence propel frightened citizens to the Right.

IT IS "the Revolution" that motivates the hard core of the SDS—even when no revolutionary situation exists. Yet, as Wolff elucidates:

The revolutionary situation is not determined by the fact that we will take over the govern-

mental apparatus or storm the Winter Palace or the Bastille. The question of power today has shifted to different points. This is a new and profound development, historically speaking. The government suddenly feels itself ideologically insecure when certain means of manipulation are no longer available. Here is the total sphere of provocation. Rituals become uncertain, etc. A university can no longer afford to celebrate the appointment of a new Rector. Those days are over....

The question of power is determined today by the systematic mobilisation of human beings to recognise their own interests. French workers who go out into the streets and no longer listen to their trade union functionaries are putting the question of power; and that's also possible in Germany. Existing consciousness is deceptive; German conditions are basically no different from other countries in Western Europe....

The strongest basis for this kind of revolution is the University because—the SDS recognised this early on, and correctly—it is the "weakest point in the system." Mass attack, structural weaknesses, arguments about legal competence, and some doubtful academic practices have rendered the German universities so vulnerable that they are creaking as if on the verge of collapse.

Large parts of the student body are "to the Left" of the Establishment, yet the SDS can only rarely play a clear leading role (as it did in Berlin). It operates rather as a catalyst, starting the process of rebellion over and over again. Nowhere can it impose its tactics on the students, let alone its revolutionary theses.

The APO and especially the SDS have tried again and again to expand their "mass basis" and to initiate the so-called "Process of Becoming Conscious" outside the universities. That worked with teenage school-children, who gave the revolutionary movement a bawdy slogan or two; but it did not come off with the workers. All the same, the SDS theoreticians feel so certain about the "new radicality" phase of the dormant mass potential that they—and agit-prop expertise is their forte—now speak of "a radical minority of the rulers."

FOR A SHORT PERIOD ONLY did it seem that the rebellion at the universities would actually spread to wider sectors of the populace, as for instance when ten thousand marched through Berlin with red banners during the disturbances at Easter last year, and on 1 May.

The rebels often encountered sympathy where their eager efforts to achieve solidarity failed. The APO, at its zenith, gave a new meaning to the art of political demonstration. The APO strained the existing laws, thereby focusing on many of their antique absurdities. No intel-

lectual critique could have exposed some aspects of the encrusted structure of German law more poignantly than the words of *Kommunarde* Fritz Teufel when a Berlin judge asked him to stand up in Court: "*Na ja*, if you think it will be of some help in the quest for truth..."

The mixture of militance and wit, of provocation and demonstration, worked. Much was unmasked. It was a spirited technique of rule-breaking about which Professor Habermas said: "It leads to strong defensive reactions, but also to curative shock, provoking surprised second thoughts about routines and standardised feelings and complexes..." A year ago, in mid-1968, it even seemed credible to the Frankfurt professor of philosophy that this kind of protest could open up the perspective of "a transformation of our highly developed industrial societies" in the direction of a de-bureaucratized socialist system. But even then he warned against a "false appraisal" of the social crisis. "The new techniques can only embrace symbolic actions. But in the minds of diehard SDS members they emerge as methods of real and decisive revolutionary struggle..."

THAT'S HOW IT WAS. SDS members and militant APO groups took to the course of "revolutionary struggle" after the anti-National-Emergency campaign had established the lack of a real response in the public. The revolutionaries adjusted themselves to the new situation after an intermediary phase of disappointment at the two SDS conferences in 1968 which had brought confusion and frustration. Now they no longer discuss whether, but rather when and how and which kind of violence is to be used. They want *so much* to be revolutionaries!

If, however, they are to be effective as revolutionaries, the essential question is whether they are basing themselves on a sound evaluation of the social situation and whether their methods will prove adequate. If they are mistaken, their prophet Marcuse's remark is even more significant, "They know the risk of their being thrashed..."

Today there is hardly an SDS ideologist who would subscribe to what Rudi Dutschke once said: "Terrorist violence against human beings is no longer necessary in the cities..." No longer heard are SDS appeals to stand, as the Mainz group put it last year, "with all our strength for the principle of Non-Violence towards other human beings." Comrades who rejected the use of Molotov cocktails at the Easter riots in 1968 as "politically stupid" or "ridiculous" are today held in contempt.

The majority of rebels were then already agreed that a "radical democratic movement does not achieve goal-consciousness by sitting at

a desk." This was said by SDS theoretician Wolfgang Lefèvre; and they were sure that dissenting minorities "would not be noticed at all... without provocation" (Dutschke). Even so, the rites and customs of the rebels came to Europe from Berkeley and the American civil rights movement. It was a transplantation of Sit-ins and Teach-ins, of street marches and slogans and graffiti. Then the philosophy was "passive resistance" with all its appropriate forms of protest. These methods did not appear to the students to need any revision until later, after confrontations with the official Establishment view (in the words of a Berlin professor of philosophy, Wilhelm Weischedel, at that time) "which considers demonstrating in the streets... an irresponsible idleness, or even a terroristic exercise." The Establishment felt challenged and hit back.

One Frankfurt policeman, putting away his truncheon after the Easter riots last year, babbled: "*Ach*, does my arm hurt! One's not used to this any more..." It was a remark which symbolised a weak authority trying to use strong measures. At the time SDS chairman Klaus Ahlheim (of Mainz) described the automatism of the counter-violence which necessarily evolved from such special treatment. "No one... had intended to throw rocks but when the truncheons and horses arrived, when one saw unconscious people and heard anguished cries... young people in blind rage tore up the turf and searched for stones."

DISGUST, ANGER, and the newly discovered awareness of "repressive authority" drove thousands into the open ranks of the APO. Many took Marcuse's words to heart: "There is a natural right for oppressed and subjugated minorities to resist, to exercise unlawful methods as soon as the lawful ones become inadequate. 'Law and order' are everywhere and always law and order for those who protect the established hierarchy. It is senseless for those who suffer and resist to appeal to the absolute authority of this law and this order..."

The traditional monopoly of force and violence by the state was put in jeopardy. Those who came in contact with a theory or a truncheon found intellectual support in the theoretical difference between "reactionary violence" and "progressive violence." Dr. Oskar Negt, APO philosopher (and assistant to Habermas), explained. Reactionary violence: "Destruction of Vietnamese village by Americans." Progressive violence: "Burning down and looting American stores" by Negro minorities. Practice in street fighting brought out new distinctions. Violence itself was of two further varieties: "Violence against Things" (which was

permitted) was replaced by "Violence against Persons" (which was still disapproved).

Yet, last April, after the Easter disturbances, APO lawyer Horst Mahler blurred the border line when he replied, after the death of an innocent bystander, to the question whether one should "calculate" on fatal casualties at demonstrations. He said: "That is exactly the same as calculating that, when I am driving my car, a tyre may burst..." Six months later SDS leader Christian Semler confirmed that "the old differentiation" between violence against things and violence against persons was "überholt (out-of-date)."

The "turning point" at which a "new level of militance" (Semler) had been reached came in November 1968, when students and "Rockers" advanced on the Berlin police with stones and the casualty list included 130 injured policemen (six times more than the aggressors). Johannes Agnoli, a Free University don, stated that "one of the most interesting and weighty German taboos had been smashed—to wit, that demonstrators in Germany must never be militant against the police..." The Berlin underground paper *Radikalinski* (with the heads of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao on the cover) reported: "130 cops now have a hole in the head. Few can complain about that..." When Berlin's self-styled *Kommunarde* Fritz Teufel demanded, satirically, that department stores be set on fire, he was (in May 1967) promptly expelled from the SDS for "sham radicalism."

The SDS leadership announced that it was "deeply upset" about the damage (2.2 million D-Marks) caused by incendiary bombs in two Frankfurt stores in April 1968. Yet Teufel's *Kommune 1* expressed the hope that "a possible conviction of the Frankfurt fire-raisers does not rule out the tactic of political fire-raising in the future..." Five months later delegates at the SDS conference applauded when the expelled Teufel re-appeared. They invited him to rejoin them. ("People who burn down stores are preferable to those who own them.") In October, when the fire-raisers were in court, the SDS and the German-French student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit declared their solidarity: "*Sie gehören zu uns* (they belong to us)!"

As always, the SDS itself and the other New Left groups who want to renovate the world by violence, produced ideological justifications. As SDS-delegate Reinhard Wolff stated: "One can't talk about violence without referring to the conditions in which violence occurs..." And these are the conditions, according to a recent Agitator's Brochure in Berlin: "There are two kinds of weapons systems used by the State." First: "machine-guns, tanks, aeroplanes, truncheons." And second: "Rules; also called

'morality,' 'order,' 'decency.' The second system serves to save money and obtain law and order on the cheap..."

Morality and metaphysics have been invented because one cannot lock up entire peoples in concentration camps and one cannot have two policemen guarding every citizen. This invention was so ingenious that today parents say to their children: "You must not steal," although they let themselves be burgled all their lives, by a small "radical minority" of capitalists who know how to disguise their gigantic thievery by careful manipulation.

Accordingly, whoever breaks through the barrage of existing order gets caught in the trap of Class Justice—or beneath the police truncheon or army bayonets. ... Capitalism leads to Fascism, Capitalism must go. ...

Acts of violence which appear utterly senseless to the uninitiated are newly defined as "actions of resistance" against "crimes of exploitation." The indictment is relentless: "The Capitalists are responsible, together with their corrupt political parties, for the misery of millions... for hundreds of thousands who waste away their lives in prisons, for hundreds of thousands of the mentally ill, for millions of alcoholics... for thousands of dying mothers and dying babies, for thousands of deformed children... for millions of homeless..."

THE RADICAL LEFT realised that such misery could not be changed with just any ordinary kind of revolution, particularly because the miserable masses were hardly aware of their own tragedy. Ergo, it became necessary to "unmask" the Ruling Class and its System and thereby reveal to the masses their own second and true character.

The revolutionaries think this is possible through a "*Propaganda der Tat* (propaganda of the deed)," especially since all the printed leaflets and pamphlets have been completely ignored by the factory workers. This same tactic was outlined in Russia by Michael Bakunin a hundred years ago, when he wrote in 1869, in one of his anarchist manifestos:

To begin with, such deeds will appear very exceptional, as actions taken by fanatics in rage. They must occur again and again in varied forms, and then they will become a contagious passion of the youth, and, finally, turn into general rebellion.

A hundred years later this is the contemporary Left version:

This permanently practised terror will result in the open unmasking of that State power which is

"The Revolution Is Devouring

CHANCELLOR KIESINGER need not yet go in fear of his life. The S.D.S. still has no machine-guns; so far this year no blood has flowed; and the combat formations of the radical students are still being beaten up by the police. But in recent months, as they resumed the battle in Munich, Berlin and Frankfurt, they heard for the first time, and in their own lecture-rooms, the counter-cry of, "S.D.S. raus! Wir haben die Schnauze voll!" (S.D.S. out, we've had a belly-ful!)

Things have reached the point where the distracted German universities may well be on the verge of civil war. Still tentatively, but provoked by the "geistige Rockertum (spiritual hooliganism)" of the S.D.S. cadres, in the words of a left-wing Catholic student, groups of hitherto moderate students are preparing for the eventual necessity of "militant action against these lunatics, whose views terrify us and who encourage the worst elements of German reaction..." If these anti-S.D.S. groups were capable of operating as fanatically as their opponents, then good-night to German lecture halls and institutes of higher learning.

The S.D.S. leaders, quarrelling among themselves, furiously exasperated because their political theories cannot be realised overnight, and afraid that their organisation may fall to bits, are taking refuge for the time being in window-smashing, "simply in order to keep things happening..." So much has been admitted by Professor Ludwig von Friedeburg, the Frankfurt sociologist, who with his colleagues T. W. Adorno and Jürgen Habermas is among the ideological progenitors of the revolutionary movement, and was recently obliged to stand by, pale and helpless, while his uncontrollable students were turned out of the "Institut für Sozialforschung" by the police.

THE REVOLUTION IN FRANKFURT has devoured, not its children, but its parents. The Institute for Social Studies (only administratively linked with the University) was built up after the war with American money by Professors Adorno, Horkheimer, and Pollock, upon their return from exile. Its radical-critical attitude to society formed the minds of the students who now comprise the S.D.S. leadership. Horkheimer (now Emeritus Professor) and "Teddy" Adorno illustrated in Marxist terms the wretched insufficiencies of present-day capitalist society, and proclaimed that only by the enlightenment of the mindless masses could the socialist transformation be achieved.

If not much in the way of practical militance was heard from the theoreticians, their students, on the other hand, among them the present Frankfurt leader, Hans-Jürgen Krahle, accepted the doctrines of the "Frankfurt School of Criticism" as a challenge to begin fighting today for the better world of tomorrow. And now that their response to the challenge has led to riots on the streets, Professor Adorno says:

"All I did was to propound the theory. How could I guess that some people would want to realise it with Molotov cocktails?..."

He uttered these words as the mass of rebellious students led by Krahle were marching towards his Institute.

The aim of the Krahle commandos is to "re-function" Adorno's academic seminars into a system of sociological "working-parties," in which theory will be converted into political action. The S.D.S. then propose to form similar parties in all the faculties, thus broadening their base of operations. A few days previously Adorno's colleagues, Habermas, had closed the doors of the Seminar building on the Myliusstrasse, which forms part of the Institute, against Krahle's marchers. The "rote Professor" had come to the conclusion that the S.D.S. movement, which originally he had supported, was in danger of being carried away by "megalo-mania."

One of the things which caused Habermas to change his mind arose out of the demonstration against the Karajan Festival (a benefit concert for the encouragement of German sport). Krahle's cadres considered themselves entitled to organise the protest by making use of the Institute's facilities—telephones, typewriters, and duplicating-machines for leaflets. Habermas, however, wanted to prevent the lavishly equipped and endowed premises of the Institute from becoming the headquarters (as they did) of rowdy demonstrations against Kiesinger, or rotten eggs thrown at Ludwig Erhard's limousine.

THE WORKING PARTIES DEBATED the matter for hours on end, until finally Habermas turned them out. They stood and sat huddled together like the devout in a confined place of worship. The main revolutionary orators were of course Hans-Jürgen Krahle, the son of a Prussian countess, and Frank Wolff, a talented cellist. Although the matter under discussion was only the undoing of the patrons of sport, the whole of S.D.S. political theory was passed under review. Who could define "legality," and who could prevent "polarisation"? When, however, cautious objections were raised to strong-arm and terrorist methods the generally persuasive speakers tended to grow ill-tempered: with sharp rejoinders like "Schnauzehalten!" or "Scheissargument!" ("belt up," "bloody tripe.")

IT WAS NOT UNTIL long after the windows of Frankfurt's American House, several travel agencies and a number of consulates had been shattered, and the mass of police with their water-cannons, barbed wire and dogs had retired, that the rebels resumed their political campaign in the University. While 15,000 students proceeded with their normal routines in the dreary surroundings of student lodgings and study-rooms, the hundred-odd radicals from the Myliusstrasse provoked an incident which was intended to bring the non-political majority over to their side.

Its Parents ²

The pretext was supplied by their fallen gods, Professors Adorno, von Friedeburg, and Habermas.¹ When the student group, having been turned out of Myliusstrasse, proceeded to stage a sit-in in Adorno's Institute, the professors asked the Frankfurt Chief of Police, Herr Littmann, to send along some of his men. The activists were marched through a police-cordon to police buses, charged with disturbing the peace. "Scheisskritische Theoretiker!" (Filthy theorists!) Hans-Jürgen Krah! shouted at the flustered professors while a cop gripped him by the collar. The famous sociologists drew back in embarrassment, profoundly shaken and by no means certain that they had not carried things to the point of absurdity in allowing their fiery youngsters to be arrested.

After putting them through the routine procedure of finger-printing and so on, the police let 75 of them go. Only Krah!, who already had twenty-one political charges on his sheet, was held on remand. This served as the pretext for a clarion call to the whole student body—"75 FELLOW-STUDENTS ARRESTED! FREEDOM FOR KRAH!!"

A previously arranged demonstration with Spanish visiting workers was partly diverted from its purpose with the slogan "Ho-ho-holt Krah! (Rescue Krah!)" The seemingly ubiquitous Myliusstrasse group were again in evidence, and with them was Danny Cohn-Bendit, who had recently kept himself somewhat in the background but now returned to the battle.

Professor Adorno concludes that it must be an "Ich-Schwäche," a psychological state of insecurity, which propels these bourgeois children to join a revolutionary Kollektiv. Also that it is "fashionable" to look sloppy and revolutionary and tough.

In the front row of the Spanish demonstrators was Claudia Littmann, the Chief of Police's 19-year-old daughter (herself not a student, she

¹ Professor Habermas, one of the pioneering figures in the German New Left, first came into conflict with the S.D.S. when he suggested that Rudi Dutschke's strategy for action had a potential of "Left Fascism." He later criticised the tactics of the "pseudo-revolution" as exercises in "infantilism." (See Jürgen Habermas, "A Critical Word at the Court of Our Self-Appointed Revolutionaries," *ENCOUNTER*, September 1968.) One of his own assistants, Oskar Negt, has now published the case for the revolutionary defence entitled "Die Linke antwortet Jürgen Habermas." To the charge of "infantile disorders," one S.D.S. leader (Reimut Reiche) concedes that the provocative demonstration tactics have come "almost exclusively" from youths who "in a clinical sense have all the symptoms of neurotics." But inasmuch as neuroses are products of society, the movement against Authority "must take over certain functions of psychic self-therapy"; consequently, demonstrations have "a function of anti-authoritarian collective liberation."

looks more like a mannequin). And it was her father's "miese Bullen (filthy cops)" in their futuristic crash-helmets who drove the singing demonstrators off the streets.

"Ho-ho-holt Krah!" Driven off the streets the students went back to the university, where the Myliusstrasse group stormed through the corridors. Adorno was not in evidence, but Habermas came in for strident abuse and Friedeburg was pelted with fire-crackers and eggs on his way to his lecture-room. Krah!'s cadres had no need to fear resistance in their own faculty, but in the lecture-rooms of other faculties the "fellow-students" refused to play along.

In lecture-room H2, where an Accountancy lecture was in progress, the invaders were hooted. While the professor calmly went on writing balance-sheets on the blackboard and the S.D.S. orators strove vainly to get a hearing, a young man whose neat and sober attire proclaimed him an impeccable representative of the Accountancy faction sprang to his feet and shouted; "Why don't we simply throw these fellows out?" There were 300 anti-revolutionaries in the lecture-hall, and only 30 militants.

At the professor's suggestion, a vote was taken on whether the class was to continue with its work or resolve itself into a political teach-in. The great majority were in favour of getting on with their Accountancy. The S.D.S. party ignored this, one of the comrades arguing that "dictatorship had quite often secured power by democratic means. . . ." But then, when the atmosphere grew heated, the revolutionaries decided to leave the accountants in their state of "subservience to authority" and withdrew, muttering surly abuse: "Scheissverein!"

WHAT NEXT? At the headquarters of A.D.S., the alliance of moderate student groups, visitors are welcomed with whisky and orange-juice. The committee have issued a pamphlet with news items and reform proposals, adorned with a picture of a half-naked sex kitten "to make it more attractive." The plans for reform appear to be those worked out by the S.D.S. before they had committed themselves to a policy of total revolution. "We believe," said a fifth-term law student, "that the terrorism will run itself into the ground without our having to move a finger." The moderates may be the gainers. The extremist agitation is helping them in their peaceful advocacy of necessary reforms with the local authorities and university rectors. The Rector of Frankfurt University, Dr. Ruegg, Swiss by birth but German and traditional in his way of thinking, has been asked what he would do if he were physically attacked by the S.D.S. He picked up an office chair, and said: "I'd hit out with all four chair-legs, you can be quite sure of that. . . ."

On the wall of the outer courtyard of the Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-University, which at Easter last year was renamed the Karl-Marx University, there are still messages in red paint.

Jochen Steinmayr

still very well disguised. Only when the State exercises open violence again and again can we resist and destroy this *Scheissgesellschaft* with the appropriate means.

At the most recent SDS Congress in Hanover a portrait of Bakunin hung on the wall, and his works were displayed in the radical bookshops. Sometimes one hears a "*Vivat Bakunin!*" at APO demonstrations in Berlin. This "renaissance of anarchism" has been closely followed by one high Bonn observer: "When no upheaval is possible," Dr. Günter Nollau explained, "then the use of violence tries to point to social misery and clear the path to revolution...."

For Daniel Cohn-Bendit, "that great comrade Martin Luther King is no longer so popular," because "we need an Offensive of Violence (*eine Offensive der Gewalt*)."

The editor of the Kiel students' paper *Skizze* appealed to his fellow students to "organise themselves in collective social forms," to "overcome the fear of isolation" which

prevents us from satisfying our needs and pursuing practical revolutionary activities, from stealing food and books, from setting fire to shops and churches and throwing Molotov cocktails into police stations and government offices.... This we will have to do to overthrow Capitalism....

It would be "feeble-minded" (expounded one Berlin pamphlet) "to chant the *Internationale* or to brandish a placard in front of the Bosses: 500 DEAD PER DAY IN VIET NAM—I AM A CHRISTIAN. That leaves the Bosses cold. That is a language they don't understand." The language they do understand was explained by a participant at the SDS Congress in Hanover.

Those who are not prepared to throw Molotov cocktails don't belong with us. (*Wer jetzt nicht bereit ist, Molotow-Cocktails... zu werfen, hat bei uns nichts zu suchen.*)

He was cheered. And anyone who wants to belong knows by now how to mix a Molotov cocktail; all the recipes have been given in the underground press. And one underground paper (*Linkheck*) recommends "refinements" for "fighting against living targets"....

Stones and bits of old iron, screws, nails, etc., can be mixed with the explosives to add to the fragmentation effect.

Radikalinski suggests the following (printed under a Mao aphorism: "Political power comes from the muzzle of a gun")—"For blowing up walls and finishing-off cars, a certain mixture of sugar and sodium chlorate placed in the tubular metal part of bicycles"; to "make the walls of a Paper Tiger (*i.e.*, a water-cannon vehicle) glow, a 'Warsaw Cocktail' made of Diesel fuel and

sulphuric acid mixed in a 'clean' bottle is recommended. See your chemistry book."

IS THERE A SECRET AGREEMENT between the Hamburg police and the press to ignore all this? This was recently reported by the *Bergedorfer Zeitung*, the point being that "no one should be encouraged to imitation...." On a November night persons unknown had blown up a police car in the Bergedorf police yard with a Molotov cocktail; back in May a police car had been damaged in Schwarzenbach near Hamburg with three incendiary bottles. Incendiary cocktails, discovered by police officials for the first time during the Easter '68 riots in Frankfurt and Hamburg, were thrown into the Rector's office at Marburg University and the Free University of Berlin, into rooms in the Technical University of Berlin, into a Greek travel agency in Munich, and against the Spanish-German Bank in Frankfurt. Incendiary bottles were thrown into the district Army Reserve Office (*Kreiswehrrersatzamt*) and, in November into the Berlin mounted-police stables (a horse called "Zerline" was burnt). One *Kommunarde*, Dieter Kunzelmann, remarked: "After all, it's a beginning."

"Set this old ramshackle place on fire," the accused Thorwald Proll urged the public in the courtroom during the Frankfurt department store arson trial. Several hours later, at 3.25 a.m., Molotov cocktails flew through a window on the ground floor of Court Building B and set wallpaper, desks, and documents alight. An incendiary attack against the Criminal Court in Moabit caused only minor damage—as it did in the America Houses in Tübingen where a fire was started in a cupboard after a students' Go-in. In Frankfurt three Molotov cocktails destroyed the reading room, and in Munich a window was smashed with a petrol-filled lantern.

Fire bombs burst in the Berlin regional administration office (*Landesverwaltungsamt*), in the Frankfurt branch office of the U.S. Dow Chemical Works (which makes napalm bombs for the Viet Nam war), and on a goods train which was carrying freight to Greece (or so the arsonists believed). The attack on the freight train was preceded by a resolution of the Munich SDS demanding acts of sabotage against "the making and dispatch of goods for export to Greece." Just as the freight train incident "unmasks" the pact between the Bonn rulers and the Greek dictatorship, at least so far as the New Left is concerned, so other targets provide a similar symbolic value.

"These deeds," said a member of the SDS leadership, "are not silent—they can be heard by everyone...." Other objectives are:

1. *Department Stores* (stones to be hurled). They represent a certain economic structure "in

which social wealth must be destroyed repeatedly. A million times or more, manpower, time, and material are wasted by introducing new models every two years. They're for built-in obsolescence and fancy packaging; they're not for research into improvement of existing products but into improved saleability, not for durability but the reverse. Advertising, the cost of which continually rises, deprives the masses of their working time and their man-power, and cheats them of their needs."

2. *Law Courts* (fires to be started). They represent places of "*spätkapitalistische Class Justice*" which punishes "a woman working in a stocking factory who pinches the stockings—not the woman who applies her basic rights by refusing to manufacture non-ladder stockings; the driver who is punished because his tyre burst, not those citizens who prevent the production of solid tyres...."

3. *Universities* (Rectors' offices to be wrecked). They are instruments "for those economic forces in society which are interested in training adaptable specialised functionaries, but not critical potential."

4. *America Houses* (Molotov cocktails to explode). They represent a state in which "genocide in Viet Nam is the necessary result of capitalist means of production at its highest stage of imperialism, and therefore an expression of a society which, amongst us, holds down by means of a provisional system of pseudo-liberties the true longing of the masses for self-determination."

5. *Army barracks* (to be sabotaged). "The Army, like the Police, as the instrument of ruling radical minorities in this country, has a latent civil war function."

THE ARMY IS A PARTICULARLY handy symbol for the militants of the APO. SDS functionaries wrote about an incendiary bomb attack on the Frankfurt *Kreiswehersatzamt*: "The workers understand this immediately. They know this to be the place where the citizens are funnelled into the System...."

Munich members of SDS gave varying replies to the *Spiegel* last December in answer to the question "whether lives should be put at stake" in acts of violence against the Army. Some said that would be "quite legitimate" as long as only professional soldiers are the victims. The others replied it would be only "partially legitimate" since there are also decent people among the professional soldiers, even if they have been led astray; one would have to be "selective."

SDS members in Berlin have explained that attacks on officers of the law (e.g., policemen and, in emergencies, soldiers) are "not directed against people (*gegen Personen*)" but "against objects (*gegen Sachen*)" and therefore permissible—because "policemen are human beings become truncheons (*Polizisten sind zu Knüppeln gewordene Menschen*)." Bernd Rabehl says:

"Just as the police beat us up and finish us off—so they must expect to be finished off."

In Lüneburg, pamphlets were distributed with instructions for making explosives (i.e., "*Hexogen*—detonator speed of 8,400 m/sec.") and a sketch of a munitions dump in the Lüneburg Theodor-Körner-Kaserne. An appeal appeared in Saarbrücken (imprint: "*Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*" [SDS]) in which it said "If we are against emergency laws, then we will have to fight against their actualisation. We must get to the ordnance depot of the Territorial Defence in Saarbrücken." In Munich the SDS plan to shoot off rockets near barrack grounds with pamphlets attached, calling for sabotage: "Gears can be changed this way or that; sugar can be poured into petrol tanks. If one thinks hard enough all sorts of ideas will come to mind to help with the practical work of disarmament." So far the SDS committee does not formally have anything to do with acts of sabotage. SDS-leader Reinhard Wolff thinks it a promising strategy, however, to "announce that we were eager to have a discussion with the soldiers. Either our meeting has an over-flow crowd, or the Army keeps everybody confined to quarters. That's more effective than sabotage."

During a secret conference in Rüsselsheim, held by the SDS and the Union of Conscientious Objectors (VK), it was agreed that "the present phase of sabotage would only redound to the disadvantage of the saboteurs and against the activist groups" and "should therefore be regarded as dangerous." Even so, the Berlin APO paper *Extradiens* published a document according to which "sabotage, in long-term strategy, is certainly of importance in hindering effective action (in an emergency)." As a "starting point to a practically transformed army campaign, the Conscientious Objectors Union (VK) serves the SDS strategists as a centralised potential" (according to the internal *SDS Info*).

Pacifists are more and more frequently superseded at the VK elections by affiliated SDS anti-Army campaigners who are fed up with the "religious, moral, ethical, virtuous phrases of dogmatic pacifist morality." *SDS Info* reports on the emergence of militant citizens in the Hamburg VK: "The Board elections were a permanent orgasm.... Things are beginning to explode in the faces of the Executive."

THE NEW STRATEGY of the APO anarchists—so-called "psycho-terror" and "individual terror"—fits into the scheme to shock not only the machinery of Government but also the *apparatchiks* of the System. At times they have shouted: "Only Guns help against Stockholders (*Gegen Aktionäre helfen nur Gewehre*)!" and "Throw egg hand-grenades at the Bureaucrats (*Schmeisst*

auf Bürokraten Eierhandgranaten)!" They try to intimidate courts by macabre talk (Judges' children would have their throats cut and their wives would be raped)... As a Berlin SDS man said, "It would not do any harm if we shadowed every Judge." A *Kollektiv* of SDS authors wrote in the Berlin *FU Spiegel*: "It may be a dismal thing to terrorise a reactionary Judge to such a degree that he'll finally have a nervous collapse. Nevertheless, it is a practical and organisationally feasible possibility which promises real if limited successes..."

This is why pamphlets announced that public prosecutors would soon be kidnapped—and why stones were flung at Judge Eberhard Drygalla's windows when Beate Klarsfeld was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for slapping the Chancellor's face (SDS: "It was only an appropriate reply to that unprecedented terror verdict")—and why anonymous callers rang in the night and asked the conservative Free University professor Momme Mommsen: "Ever heard of hydrochloric acid?" (and a woman's piercing cry rang out in the background).

SO IT IS that *Aktionen* against the loathsome System, against the Apparatus and the Machinery, come to constitute torturing ordeals for individual citizens. Dr. Manfred Hättich, professor of politics at Mainz, replying to the SDS argument of "Our assault is not on you but on the System," remarks: "The human side of radical politics envisages at best the species *Man*—but not the living human being."

The theses are all linked in a great chain of dialectic. People might well get hurt? It is only the rottenness of the institutions that is being exposed... It all helps to instruct wider circles of potential revolutionaries... The ignorance of Authority is demonstrated, if at the price of tempting the "latent fascism of late capitalist society." Every charred document belonging to the System is a step forward; and the publication of captured files only helps to illuminate the "secret structure."

Some things are taken to be still *problematisch*. The fires at the Frankfurt department stores which were supposed to be a protest against "Consumer Fascism" are extremely difficult to put over ideologically as a popular message, and consequently, as one SDS-member explained, "It might have been better if all that crap (*Scheissdreck*) there on show and sold at crazy prices, had been thrown on to the streets and given away..."

The necessity for each *Aktion* to communicate, to instruct and to expose is, of course, ignored more and more by the marginal groups inside and outside the SDS. Inside the SDS appeals such as these are disapproved of:

"Zündet alles an, was euch nicht passt (Set fire to everything you don't like)!"—i.e., lorries, cars and kiosks" or "old people's homes" and "petrol stations."

Such "putschist" recommendations are taken by SDS members of a "higher political consciousness" to be troublesome matters of psychology rather than strategy. Similar "radical phrases" are spread frequently by APO followers who, according to SDS-leader Bernhard Rabehl, are "very strongly under neurotic influences." Rabehl recognises "the danger of a repercussion on the SDS itself." But the socialist students do not want to disassociate themselves from such putschists. On the one hand they don't want to offer the Establishment the picture of a divided revolutionary front, on the other hand they feel responsible even for the "irresponsibles." In the view of the SDS, even actions that are inspired by rage and despair have their "rational core."

The programme of forcing the *putschists* to adhere to revolutionary discipline has been taken over by the SDS itself. The student group itself has been increasingly disorganised; separate *ad hoc* groups operate on their own initiative. The notion of control seems to go against the grain of the anti-authoritarians. "We have no security police," says Reinhard Wolff, "nor do we want any."

And even if there were some control, how much could it accomplish? There are (according to the SDS evaluation) only about 40% of students who would go along with militant violence; they don't all belong to the SDS; about 20% are schoolboys; the rest is composed of young workers and apprentices. All the same, the Berlin SDS is trying to steer the revolutionary spirit on to the "right lines" by way of teach-ins and general enlightenment. "Not to dissociate publicly," Rabehl says, "but discuss privately."

IN MANY SECTORS of the old Left there is widespread concern that the whole traditional radical movement will be discredited by the spectre of terror and putschism. The motives are varied, of course. West Berlin's Communists (in the S.E.D.) storm against the "left adventurers" in the APO. The Hamburg C.P. paper *Blinkfüer* curses the Hanseatic stone-throwers: "One only isolates oneself from the people by such anarchist methods, instead of finding sympathy and support." Max Reimann, the veteran Communist leader who is now back in the Ruhr, complains: "*So'n Dingen macht man nicht* (such things just aren't done)!"

"The SDS has its merits" says a Berlin APO pamphlet, "but when the second line pulls down what the forward line has built up; when they operate with methods inside the APO which we despise in our opponents... when in their

opinion everyone who does not fight the police is a 'counter-revolutionary'—then these people will in turn become our opponents, however much we may agree about ultimate goals."

The left-wing theologian Dr. Hellmut Gollwitzer warned the believers in violence: "The greatest misfortune is a lost revolution. . . ." The

sociologist Habermas recognised "a fatal strategy," which not only "isolates students and school children in the long run, but weakens all those who strive for the democratisation of social and political forces."

On the afternoon of 18 January, the feud between Left and Left, which smoulders in all the metropolises, was finally carried into the streets. Two formations of demonstrators of the APO marched through the streets at the same time—the West Berlin S.E.D. had appealed to one to "protest without violence" against fascism in Greece; the SDS had appealed to the other to "protest—with stones as well"—against the German Social Democrats. Once again, as in the old days, the Left—waving the red flag, the *Internationale* on its lips—marched against itself.

A New Fascism?

I HAVE OFTEN BEEN ASKED, in the last twenty years, whether I could forecast an effective revival of Nazism in Germany. I have always answered, no; because I have never believed that the old doctrines could revive in the old form. They might survive, as a kind of dead deposit, in ageing minds. Elements of them would recur, here and there, in new situations: for some of the elements are permanent features of German history, and some are predictable responses to recurrent social pressures. But the fusion of all these elements in a particular dynamic pattern was caused, in the past, by the particular unrepeatable experience of one generation; and even if all the same circumstances should recur, in the same order (which is inconceivable), the emotional content would not be communicable, unchanged, to another generation: for the identical pattern of pressures and the same intellectual climate would not recur. For this reason, the new fascism, when it occurs, will occur with radical differences. Indeed, with such differences, it has already occurred. The arrogant cult of youth, the nihilism, the intolerance of dissent, the rejection of rational argument, the deliberate invocation of force to justify counter-force—all these have recently been resumed.* But they have been resumed in classes and circumstances very different from those of the 1920s and 1930s; and although a knowledge of the original fascism may help us to understand the new phenomenon, the precise form in which they have been resumed could not, I think, have been predicted.

* Since delivering this lecture, I have seen an issue of "Beaver" (5 December 1968), described as the "Newspaper of the London School of Economics Students' Union"; and I can add that the obscene and vindictive journalistic style of Julius Streicher's notorious anti-semitic periodical "Der Stürmer" has also been resumed—though against new scapegoats.

H. R. TREVOR-ROPER, in a Lecture at the London School of Economics, "The Past and the Present" (1969).

THE INTELLECTUAL MENTORS of the youth rebellion are no longer standing aside. Frankfurt sociologist Theodor W. Adorno, for instance, to whom whole generations of students had listened on the death of West European bourgeois culture, has some trouble nowadays recognising his wild Adornites. The other week he disassociated himself publicly, on television, from the revolutionary cadre and announced that Western Germany was really "totally different" from a "fascist state." His explanation:

I tried to set up a theoretical model—how was I to know that people would try to realise it with Molotov cocktails? . . .

Jürgen Habermas, who had also tried to provide the esoteric code for a new society, had a phrase for the situation: "*Spiel mit dem Terror* (Playing with terror). . ." Habermas, who was denounced by the commando students as a "scheisskritische theoretician," stated his hope that "the emancipatory achievements of the bourgeois rule of law (*des bürgerlichen Rechtsstaates*) would never be surrendered. . . ."

German left-liberals saw with trepidation the "sowing of violence" grow and, taken aback, one asked: "How long will it be till one hears the cry ring out in agitated APO meetings, "*An die Laterne* (Hang them from the lamp posts). . . .?"

Such bitter over-emphasis suggests the disappointment of left-liberals who find themselves cheated by a movement in which there is still talk of reform but mostly only talk. This was the moment when the SDS could observe how liberals "always" join hands with reactionaries. "Liberalism is taking sides—not to attack the power of the Authoritarian State but to criticise Student Power. . . ."

They have an explanation for everything. Only the Revolution will do, and nothing else.

The New Apartheid?

Washington

BLACK STUDIES has replaced Viet Nam as the entering wedge for trouble on campuses all across the country [Joseph Kraft writes].

The academic revolution has to do with the vast increase in the numbers of those now going to college. Enrolment in institutions of higher learning has gone up from three million in 1958 to six million today, with a projected ten million in the next decade. At present one in every two young men graduating from high school goes on to college. For girls the figure is one in every four. And the percentage is rising steadily and rapidly.

Pretty soon college will be the place where most people finish off their schooling. It will provide the basic minimum of normal educational achievement. It will be what high school has been. But the high schools, as the last rung on Everyman's educational ladder, make it possible for anybody not disturbed or disoriented to get through. They do not allow people, or at least not many people, to fail. And for that purpose they give credit where, strictly speaking, credit is not due—for basket-weaving type courses such as Shop and Home Economics.

The colleges in their new role are going to have to make the same kind of allowances. They are going to have to make it virtually impossible to fail. To that end, they will be instituting—indeed they have already instituted—various courses of the basket-weaving variety.

At the very worst Black Studies would fit under that category. At the minimum it can be seen as a crutch for Negro students—one of many crutches bound to come given the trend towards nearly universal college attendance.

As it happens, however, Black Studies does not have to be a non-subject. A number of the most reputable universities—Yale, Harvard, and Stanford, for instance—have put together Black Studies programmes that offer such serious courses as African history, Swahili, the saga of the Blacks in this country, urban politics, and Negro music.

Trouble seems to come at schools where a special sympathy for minorities tends to draw the white majority over to the side of the protesting blacks. Thus Brandeis is largely Jewish, Swarthmore is Quaker, and San Francisco State, like Berkeley, is imbued with the bohemian culture of San Francisco.

BOSTON GLOBE

San Francisco

"IN THE SEARCH for educational relevance," writes Professor Nathan Hare, a 34-year-old University of Chicago Ph.D., and now head of the Black Studies department at San Francisco State University, "black today is revolutionary and nationalistic. A Black-Studies programme which is not revolutionary and nationalistic is, accordingly, quite profoundly irrelevant. The black revolutionary nationalist, aware and proud of his blackness, demands the right to exist as a distinct category, to be elevated as such by any means necessary. The Negro, contrarily, would just as soon be white. He longs to escape his blackness and, in the search for integration, achieves disintegration...."

"The expressive phase of the Black-Studies programme is designed to regenerate the mortified ego of the black child. A proud black history can restore and construct a sense of pastness, of collective destiny, as a springboard to the quest for a new collective future.... I can visualise, for instance, a reading problem in "black" mathematics that would not be saturated with middle-class referents such as stocks and bonds. Rather, the teacher might ask in order to whet the ghetto child's appetite for math: 'If you loot one store and burn two, how many do you have left?' The example might be improved, but there is no substitute for a black perspective based on the principle of self-control."

NEWSWEEK

San Francisco

ACCORDING TO Jerry Varnado, 24-year-old campus co-ordinator of the Black Student Union at San Francisco State University (and a lecturer in the Black Studies department), "What we are involved in here is not a reform movement. This is a revolution. Reformists work within existing rules and regulations; revolutionists make their own rules and regulations.... Violence is the best means. It disrupts and terrorises so that if people of the third world are not allowed to determine their own kind of education, then nobody else on that campus can get any kind of education. One course I teach is the sociology of black oppression.... Once during class we were talking about what napalm was and how it was being used. I told them how it could get on the skin and burn a hole all the way through. And for all who didn't believe it, I put a formula for napalm on the board so they could make some. They could pour it on a piece of meat or on the police or somebody and see exactly how it works."

NEWSWEEK

Washington

ANTIOCH COLLEGE in Yellow Springs, Ohio, has been told by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that it will lose Federal funds if it continues to operate a segregated Black Studies programme.

It is understood that a general warning on segregated Black Studies will be issued to all colleges.

Antioch has apparently also been told it cannot operate an all-Negro dormitory. Its Afro-American Studies Institute, one of the nation's first, is open only to the 120 Negro students. The courses are held in a dormitory reserved for Negroes.

More than \$1-million in Federal funds is understood to be at stake.

The action is being taken under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In its forthcoming general warning to all colleges the department will say that a college cannot discriminate in either hiring of teachers or admission of students in any Black Studies programme. Thus if a college says it will hire only Negro professors for the programme, funds will be cut off.

N.Y. TIMES

Edward Shils

Plenitude and Scarcity

The Anatomy of an International Cultural Crisis

WESTERN EUROPEAN and North American student rebellions in the present decade are more comprehensively and more fundamentally hostile towards authority than they were three and four decades ago. They are more hostile in principle towards authority as such, whereas their predecessors were hostile only to particular authorities and submitted enthusiastically to others. They act now without the sponsorship of external adult organisations, and they feel little sympathy with most of them. Where they seek to collaborate with outside organisations such as trade unions or even political parties they seek to do so as equals, and they do not do so often or regularly. They have very little attachment to any section of the population outside their own generation.

The innovators in the present generation of student radicals are antinomian; whereas, when their predecessors of more than a third of a century ago rejected authority, their rejection was sustained and limited by a legitimating authority outside themselves. They did not venture so far or so independently from adult authority as the most advanced student radicals do nowadays. The present-day student radicals act without the legitimating authority of older figures: their middle-aged courtiers who offer their legitimacy services are offering something which is neither wanted nor needed. From Sartre and Marcuse to Paul Goodman and Dwight Macdonald, they provide agreeable but unsought applause. When the student radicals group themselves around an older figure he is of their

own creation as was the case of Senator Eugene McCarthy—who was made into a charismatic person by the student radicals' need for one. The adults most closely associated with the student radicals are usually young teachers little older than themselves, and they function more to affirm than to guide and legitimate. The "big names" of present-day student radicalism—Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon—are remote in space or dead. They have no commanding power over them; what they offer to the student radicals is a quasi-bohemian, free-floating, anti-institutional aroma. Even where their older heroes govern tyrannically it is their anarchic element which appeals to the radical students. Castro's period in the Oriente province, his conduct of the affairs of his high office in cafés at 3 a.m., and the generally impromptu air of his tyranny, attract just as the image of Mao Tse-tung owes much to the period in the caves and "the Long March." Neither of these two living amulets is in charge of an organisation which the student radicals must obey. It is their inspiration to rebellion abroad rather than their domestic régime which recommends them.

The intellectual "prophets," too, are freely chosen and tolerated and can be dismissed at will by the student radicals. The writings of Professor Herbert Marcuse are useful sources of phrases, not authoritative texts. Professor Wolfgang Abendroth is a self-appointed ambassador of student radicalism to the adult generation; he exercises no authoritative function.

How are these major differences between student radicalism of the 1920s and '30s on the one hand and student radicalism of the '60s on the other to be accounted for?

The New and the Old

THE TURBULENCE of student radicalism now has the appearance of being world-wide. Alongside the formal international federations of students which appear to be of scant

PROFESSOR EDWARD SHILS is a member of the Committee of Social Thought and the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He is the editor of the quarterly review *Minerva*. His most recent articles in *ENCOUNTER* were "The Sanctity of Life" (January 1967) and "The Ways of Sociology" (June 1967).

significance for the more dramatic activities of the student radicals, there is a spontaneous and unorganised or, at best, an informal identity of sentiment and outlook of the student movement which forms a bridge across national boundaries. In 1968, student radical movements seemed to be synchronised among a number of countries and are uniform in content and technique to an extent reminiscent of the monolithic phase of the Communist International and its subsidiary organisations in the '20s and the '30s.

Student radicalism is no longer the exclusive possession of small relatively closed sects within larger student bodies; on the contrary, it reaches out towards the sympathy of a very large minority, occasionally even the majority of students, at particular places and for limited times. Its organisations within each country, despite numerous ups-and-downs, are more persistent in their action and have a larger following than they used to have. They show a self-confidence reaching to arrogance in their dealings with hostile authority, and they are aware of the transnational scale of their undertaking. Nonetheless, the movement is not unified internationally; it is certainly no conspiracy. Synchronisation is a function of a generally identical mood, not of concerted organised action.

THERE ARE major differences between countries and continents. In India, for example, where until the outbursts in Japan in 1960 and in Western countries since 1964 the university student populations were the most turbulent in the world, the student radicals do not as a rule make the structures of the larger society and of the university objects of a general critique. Indian student agitation declares no fundamental criticism of its society; it has no schemes for the reconstruction of Indian universities. It

does take stands on public issues, *e.g.*, on behalf of the construction of a steel mill in Andhra Pradesh or on behalf of or in opposition to the use of English as the medium of instruction in higher education—the nearest it has come to taking a stand on some element of a general policy for higher education. The Indian student agitation is "occasionalist"; it responds to particular stimuli, local, regional or national, but grievances do not become generalised and are therefore not persistent. India, however, is exceptional in its relatively apolitical agitation.¹ In Indonesia student radicalism is, contrarily to India's, wholly—and over the past few years continuously—political. Internal university conditions, terrible though they are, scarcely engage its attention; its interest is in the public realm, where in collaboration with but not under the dominion of the army it was important in the reduction and ultimate undoing of former President Sukarno.

Elsewhere in Asia (omitting mainland China²), in North Africa³ and, to a lesser extent, in black Africa and in Latin America student agitation follows the conventional 19th-century pattern of nationalist agitation against the repressive character of the incumbent government and its insufficient devotion to the national cause (even though the foreign rulers have departed, in some cases very long ago). In Spain, the incessant student agitation of recent years has for the most part been concerned with one narrow issue at the periphery of university organisation, namely the right of students to have their own student organisation and not one which is dominated by an official body outside the university. (In the past two years, the Spanish students have become more political, have reached out toward the "workers' commissions" and begun to express more general political attitudes about the régime and about international problems.)

In all these countries, actions are larger, more vehement and more frequently recurrent than they were in the earlier period but, except for the magnitude and intensity of the manifestations, they have not changed. They agitate against restrictions on freedom of organisation and propaganda and against their government's moral corruption and its alleged subservience to foreign powers—in most cases nowadays the United States. Hostility towards "neo-colonialism" is now widespread in most student movements but it is not new. It is only a shoddier version of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of colonialism and imperialism which was a fairly common possession of the nationalistic student movements in Asia during the 1930s or of the African student movements in France and England during the '40s and '50s.

¹ Commentators on the indiscipline of Indian students often explain the dissatisfactions of the Indian students by saying that the political leadership presents no acceptable ideal to the student generation, that it is corrupt and purposeless, etc., and therefore is unable to inspire the students. The students themselves, however, seldom refer to the general features of contemporary Indian society. See my article, "Indian Students," *ENCOUNTER*, September 1961.

² Where the recent form of the student movement appears to be a more mob-like variant of the youth movements of the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and other countries where state and party authority have dominated student action.

³ The countries of the Maghreb still, as in colonial times, have the seat of their most virulent oppositional student organisations located in the former metropolis.

NONETHELESS, despite these similarities with their earlier outlook and despite marked national differences, the student movements in most of the countries of the third world, like those in the advanced Western countries, have broken away from the pattern of their antecedents by becoming independent of adult organisations. They have practically no significant older political figures from whom they take their commands. In the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa the leaders of an earlier generation of students are in power or apolitical, dead or in exile. They are, whether dead or alive, out of the question as the leaders of an effective opposition. In these countries of Asia and Africa where political opposition is currently impracticable, aggressive student radicalism is forced to stand alone, to the extent that it stands at all. In India, where public opposition is still permitted, the student agitation has also, by and large, lost its connection with a dominant organisation of adult politicians. Although in many particular instances party politicians are able to manipulate some of the disruptive capacities of Indian students, the organisational links are loose or non-existent. In India, too, there is no larger adult political movement of which the students regard their own movement as a part and this is one of the main reasons why the Indian student radicals have practically no general political outlook.⁴

In Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Czechoslovakia, courageous students have agitated against tyranny in the larger society and on behalf of the traditional freedoms of thought, expression and assembly and for the rule of law—and with some of the same nationalist, anti-Russian accompaniment which was characteristic of their 19th-century antecedents. And they do these things alone, except for the patronage of a few literary men and professors. Even in the brief periods of liberalisation in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the students acted independently *with* the “liberalisers,” not *under* them. In Yugoslavia, in 1968, the students acted entirely on their own, although once the outburst had begun, they received the blessings of some of their teachers. The administration and functions of the university do not worry the liberal students of the “camp of peace and democracy” except in so far as party tyranny and favouritism manifest themselves there.

In its independence of adult oppositional organisations, Western European and North American student radicalism resembles that of

the third world. In Britain, the once oppositional Labour Party is ingloriously in power; in Western Germany, the Social Democratic Party is part of the Grand Coalition. In France, the socialists are futile and the communists in their odd way, and despite what General de Gaulle claimed, are pillars of the existing order in the face of student “provocation” and “adventurism.” In Italy, the socialists share government responsibility and the Communist Party has scarcely more sympathy than the French Communist Party has with the student radicals whom it regards as Maoist *provocateurs*. In the United States, the major parties are abhorrent to the student radicals and the only adult opposition to the major parties is a racist know-nothingism. In North America, the major parties have never shown any interest in student support and those parties which did—the socialist and the communist parties—have been negligible and have dwindled in size and in moral standing. Official Marxism is unaccredited or discredited, and there is no authoritative ideology ready to hand for student radicalism.

THE STUDENT RADICALS in the advanced countries of the West have no adult political masters; they act on their own. Those sections which maintain organisational relations with adult parties or groups are either in a state of conflict with their elders or are relegated to positions of despised insignificance by their radical contemporaries. The discrediting of the Communist Parties, the moderation of the Social Democratic Parties and the eclipse or disappearance of Fascist and Nazi parties in Western Europe have left the students without either a parent organisation of elders or an authoritatively promulgated doctrine to which they can give their loyalty or adherence. A “natural” Castroism, amorphous, passionately hostile to organisation, forms a powerful, profound undercurrent of sentiment and of vaguely formulated belief.

The large increase in the scale of agitation has not been accompanied by any striking novelty in doctrine or in organisational technique. In Eastern Europe, the efforts of students to liberalise their communist régimes, to abolish censorship, to introduce a system of several parties and to “humanise bureaucracy,” admirable and courageous though they have been, have not been accompanied by any intellectual innovation. In India, *hic et nunc* protests against very particular features of university and college administration and against very particular deprivations represent a retreat from the variety of nationalist, Marxist and Gandhian creeds and ideologies of the 1930s. For the rest, the student movements in Africa, Japan, Indonesia

⁴ This is true even for West Bengal. Considering the aggressive restlessness of the students, relatively few of them are willing to subordinate themselves organisationally to the Moscow or Peking Communists.

and Latin America have added nothing fundamentally new to the intellectual repertoire of the student movements. The sources of their imagery are themselves only echoes: Frantz Fanon was only an eloquent Sorel; Marcuse, a weak Marxist adulterated by Friedrich Schiller and Wilhelm Reich.

Students commandeer lorries, use "bull-roarers," confront the police armed in helmets and bearing shields; they smash windows, break furniture and lights, but technologically they are mainly borrowers. They have adopted Molotov cocktails from the Russians they despise and the Spanish loyalists they have forgotten, and the "sit-in" from the American automobile workers' union with which their sympathies are minimal. The aerosol spray only permits them to do more ineradicably what used to be done by chalk and paint brush. Even their main tactical innovation, buffoonery, is a continuation of the older bohemian maxim: *épatez le bourgeois*. Nor have they been original organisationally; even the spectre of a world-wide movement, which has been created for them and from which they profit through the heightening of their self-consciousness and confidence, is the work of the bourgeois press and television.

Nonetheless, there is a fundamental respect in which radicalism at the beginning of the '30s differs from that of the '60s. Far more important than the differences such as the far-reaching organisational independence from adult parties or the criticism of the universities are the differences in fundamental beliefs about the self, about authority, about institutions and about what is "given" by the past and the present.

Mood, Ideology, and Doctrine

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS were a far smaller proportion of the population at the beginning of the 1930s than they are now. They were less noticed by the public at large or by politicians and they did not conceive of themselves as an independent estate of the realm. Even in Latin America where they were constitutionally incorporated into university governing bodies they did not apparently conceive of themselves in their capacity as students as a "permanent interest." Being a student was thought by students and others to be a transient condition, subordinate to or derived from other statuses, from prospective roles at a later stage in life, from parental status and from identification with a particular college or university.

Most university students in most countries came from the relatively privileged classes of their societies. Even in the United States, with its open state universities, students formed a

small proportion of their generation and they came from the well-off and from the respectable less well-off who believed they had a "stake in society" or wished to acquire such a stake. They expected to enter into the better-paid occupations and professions. The radicals among them did not regard themselves as "representatives," even if unchosen, of all students. They were radicals or revolutionaries, not "radical students" or "revolutionary students." They did not regard the "student class" as an entity central to their respective societies, and they did not regard their student status as an aspect of themselves significant enough to raise revolutionary issues about it. Their parental social class, the social class to which they sought entry through their studies, the ethnic group of which they were part, or the political party under whose guidance they acted were the "powers" of their societies and they formed their image of themselves from those sources. These collectivities and aggregates are still very important in society and they are still very important to most students but they are not so important to student radicals as they used to be. Why?

Students in the late 1920s and early '30s were at university for a variety of reasons; some were ambitious to learn more, some wished to ascend in society, to earn more than their coevals who did not go on to university. Some attended university because their parents had done so and because it was the "normal" thing to do for full membership in their stratum of society. Others attended university for all or any of these reasons and because it was pleasant and exciting to be there. The pleasures of friendship and discovery and the excitement of games were available there. It was a way-station on a variety of paths of life.

IT WAS GENERALLY REGARDED in that time that to be able to go to university was a privilege, an advantage in itself and for the future. It was an experience and opportunity open to relatively few. It was to be exploited for the immediate pleasures of intellectual acquisition, convivial experience and the prospective rewards which it rendered available. The privilege was of a special kind; it implied no present ascendancy over teachers, officials, politicians or elders in general; it was a privilege in a subordinate role which adumbrated a more substantial and central privilege at a later stage of life. It was a privilege in an inequalitarian society and in an inequalitarian institution where those at a particular level in the hierarchy accepted the ascendancy of those at higher levels. The privilege of attendance at university was the privilege of entry into the middle classes and perhaps even into the upper class—either to

enter it for the first time in the history of one's own family or to enter it as one became an adult at a level approximately similar to that of one's own family. In any case, being at university was very much a middle and upper-middle class condition. The life lived at university was of a pattern thought to be appropriate at that particular stage of life to the style of those classes and completion of a course of studies there was regarded as a major qualification for subsequent membership in those classes. Even in India, Japan, and Germany, where it had become difficult for university graduates to find suitable employment, this conception of the potentialities of university education still prevailed.

Society before the Great Depression and the Second World War was much less equalitarian than it has since become. Among the main criteria for distinguishing the strata from each other was their respectability, their diligence and dutifulness, their capacity and readiness to persist faithfully in a given task and their willingness to submit their performances to the assessment of authorities they regarded as legitimate. Most university students, however idle or uproarious or however rebellious, accepted this set of arrangements; they thought it just, in so far as they thought about it at all. They expected to enter it and to take superior places in it. Of course, the prospect, except for the minority of the "highly born," was a strenuous one but the strain was accepted as "given" in the nature of things and as a precondition for the privileges to be enjoyed later. The necessity and the justice of examinations were generally accepted, even in India.⁵

THERE WERE AMONG THE STUDENTS some rebels—nationalists, fascists, socialists, communists, aesthetes and bohemians—who were not wholly reconciled to the university system. Various, they thought the larger social system unjust, or they were appalled by the philistinism of their fellow countrymen, or they disapproved of their moral conventions and, in so far as they perceived some of these qualities in the universities, they were against them. The fascists and nationalists usually disapproved of ethnically alien rule or of the presence in the middle classes and in the university of ethnically alien elements. They wished to expel the foreigners from their countries or at least from positions of high authority and reward; they therefore criticised the universities where they thought

that the aliens were benefiting from them or controlling them. But all of these objectionable qualities did not raise any question concerning the ideal nature and function of universities. Their function as a preparatory stage to the professions and towards the superior occupations was accepted. Their role in the transmission and extension of knowledge and appreciation was accepted. Their methods of government, their use of the resources available to them, the substance of what they taught, the research they did were not regarded by students as "their business"; these matters were the universities' business, and the students were only there as transient, present or prospective beneficiaries of what they offered. Particular teachers might be disliked, insulted and in a few cases assaulted; some students might absent themselves from classes and try to prevent other students from attending them. Other students might have little interest in what was taught and would do the minimum of study but they did not challenge the "system." The university system was unimpugned and its place in society unquestioned. This was so even in Germany and India where the students were fervid with nationalistic political passions and where Jews and Englishmen held prominent positions in the universities. They wished them to go, but they accepted the structure of the university and its place in society and the modalities which flow from its tasks. The politically radical and revolutionary students of this earlier period thus not only accepted the authoritative structures of their radical and revolutionary elders but they also accepted the university as an institution in the society against which they rebelled.

Their beliefs about the nature of society and the rights and privileges of men also showed this same duality. The beliefs of student radicals and revolutionaries were received beliefs, knowingly shared with those of their elders who led and spoke for the larger movement to which the student organisations were affiliated. They were beliefs which had an authoritative promulgation in the programmes of parties and in the writings of doctrinaires. They stood generally in an alienated tradition which heightened the authority of the elders to whom the students looked for guidance. The rebellious students were ideologically disposed and they had an ideology made available to them. Marxism (in one or another of its Leninist, Social Democratic, Trotskyite or Stalinist variants), national socialism, fascism, monarchism, Gandhism, etc., were in their diverse ways the accomplishment of sometimes learned and sometimes genius-like intelligences and of charismatic madmen. None of them was as systematic or as elaborate as Marx-

⁵ Students some times rebelled against a particular examination in India; occasionally individuals cheated in an examination in the United States but even the delinquents did not revolt against the institution of examinations.

ism but most of them had their literary or theoretical classics and all invoked an intellectual past.

THE NEW GENERATION of student radicalism is by contrast relatively unideological. They are ideologically disposed but they have no elaborately and systematically promulgated set of beliefs. Except for small Maoist and Trotskyite groups they do not accept the ideological services which are available to them and they have constructed no ideology of their own. Their own anarchistic inclinations do not lead them to seek the guidance of the writings of Prince Kropotkin or Elisé Reclus and to espouse their ideas. They have affinities with Fourier and Proudhon but they do not look to them for an intellectual construction of the future. Lukács is singularly not in demand, Habermas has been rejected, Lucien Goldmann has never been accepted.

Instead of ideology, they have a mood which a powerful systematising mind might cast into an ideology coherently formulated and widely accepted. The world burgeons with potentialities for such an ideology. Marcuse, Louis Althusser, R. D. Laing, Foucault, Norman Brown, Fanon, Paul Baran, Ernest Mandel and others all offer some of the ingredients of an ideology. They are all minor prophets whose prophecies overlap with each other because they all contain the basic mood. A pervasive intelligence might articulate the mood into a doctrine.

Of Evil & Perfection

THE GERMINAL ELEMENT in student radicalism in Western Europe and North America is a relatively novel moral mood. Like apocalyptic and manichaean revolutionaries in the past they demand a total transformation—a transformation from an undifferentiated totality of evil to an undifferentiated totality of perfection. Evil consists in the deadening of sentiment through institutions and more particularly through the exercise and subordination to authority in particular institutions and in the state. Perfection consists in the free expansion of feeling and the fulfilment of desires. The highest collective good is “participation.” “Participation” is a situation in which the individual’s desires are fully realised in the complete self-determination of the individual and which is simultaneously the complete self-determination of each institution and of society as a whole. In the good community, the common will harmonises individual wills.

The SDS in the United States spoke about “participation” long before General de Gaulle’s proposal in June 1968 of the participatory solu-

tion as an alternative to the solutions of “totalitarian communism” and “competitive capitalism.” Lucien Lévy-Bruhl spoke about it before either and he referred to the extension of the boundaries of the self—among other objects—to include within it objects which to empirical common sense appear alien to it. Lévy-Bruhl’s idea of participation entailed a transcendence of boundaries. Contemporary student radicals criticise modern society and its institutions, particularly the university, because they resist the aspirations of a limitless expansion of the boundaries of individuality. Individualities as they expand embrace each other in the seamless unity of the community.

The contemporary proponents of participation do not distinguish between a baser will of the empirical individual consisting of actual and immediate sentiments, impulses and desires and the higher will which is fused into the common will. The common will is not the resultant of the rationally arrived at assent of its members, it is not an actually *shared* act of decision; it is certainly not the outcome of consent to a compromise arrived at by bargaining and exchange. It is not the product of rational argument. It refuses to accept anything less than what is immediately desired. Participation is the transformation of expanding sentiments and desires into reality in a community in which all members realise their sentiments simultaneously. Anything less is repressive.

This is why the advance guard of student radicalism is so resolute in its reaction against repression. It is resolute not just against the violent and often brutal repression by the police; it is just as resolute against the moderate repression which is entailed by the application of the principle of *in loco parentis*. It is against the “repressiveness” of the rules of the game of parliamentary politics and of distributions of rewards in accordance with a criterion of merit. It is against “institutional repression” or “institutional violence” by which is usually meant the discipline of a practicable consensus in a régime of scarcity. Whatever hampers the fulfilment of whatever happens to be desired at the moment—whether it is a student housing arrangement which stipulates the hours of visiting in halls of residence, or an examination or a convention regarding dress, or sexual behaviour in public places—is repressive. And, as such, it is part of an undifferentiatedly repressive system.⁶

⁶ Student radicals in France, Germany, and the United States do not know that their frequent denunciations of the “system” are of a piece with the Nazi abuse of the Weimar Republic, called “*das System*.” This is only a minor instance of their contempt for history and of the past experience of mankind. History being “little more than the

ACADEMIC INTELLECTUAL LIFE is repressive too. It has a tradition which must be assimilated before it can be criticised and corrected. Those academic subjects which have the least imposing, least demanding traditions have the most appeal to the hyper-sensitive young persons who cannot tolerate any demands which do not flow out of themselves.

Sociology and political science are subjects with ill-ordered, unauthoritative traditions. Architecture and the study of English literature in the United States, *Germanistik* in Germany, have broken with their own classical traditions of philological and historical scholarship. Certain kinds of sociology and political science are obsessed by phantasies of the concentration of power, by the romantic imagery of the atomised *Gesellschaft*; architecture, English, and *Germanistik* increasingly aim to foster the student's creativity in contrast with helping him to assimilate a tradition of learning. They are "soft options" as compared with mathematics and physics. In general, factual studies are regarded as much inferior to theoretical studies. (The sociology of knowledge, that stillborn offspring of Karl Mannheim, has again become an object of student interest—not however as a systematic study of the relationship of institutions to intellectual traditions and their development but as a means of "unmasking" the real and problematic motives of academic knowledge and of showing the vanity of aspirations to objective truth.)

It is no wonder that the New Left sociologists and political scientists criticise quantitative sociology. Statistics have to be studied. They have a structure which is external to the individual student and to which the student must subordinate himself before he can use them. They constrict the free outward movement of the self and they are, therefore, evocative of scarcity. Economics is about scarcity. It has no interest as an academic subject to the student radicals, and it is also very demanding of selfless study.

The Sacredness of Sentiment

THE CONCEPTION OF A LIFE in which desires cannot be completely realised at the moment they are experienced is part of a larger view of existence as a realm of scarcity. It is a tradition with the longest history in the moral

register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind," there is nothing to be learned from it. More important, however, is the belief that any inheritance from the past is a curb on present potentialities and a hindrance to creativity.

repertoire of mankind. The acknowledgement of the fact of scarcity has been an essential element in the outlook of mankind over most of its history. Poverty and injustice, illness and the brevity of life, the limitations on the possibility of gratifying desires and impulses have been regarded as inexpugnable elements of the situation of mankind and ethical patterns and theodicies have been constructed to justify or to censure—and to integrate—this inevitable condition. The opening of the self and its elevation was confined to festivities, carnivals and rites; but everyday life was marked by constriction imposed by nature, society, and the moral powers of the personality. It consisted in limits on experience, the selective suppression of experienced impulse, the "avoidance of temptation" to impulses not yet experienced but known to be capable of coming forward into consciousness or conduct. Poverty, ignorance, fear and oppression through most of human history and for most of the human race have been the preconditions for the constriction of individuality. A few great personalities transcended these limitations and made their lives into "works of art."

Christianity (particularly in its dissenting Protestant form), the growth of wealth, the spread of literacy, and the gradual recession of the primordial categories and criteria of assessing the meaning and worth of a human being have in the course of centuries worn away some of these individuality-suppressing and -constricting conditions. A profound revolution was worked by romanticism which spread more widely in intellectual circles the conception of "genius" which need not regard the laws of society and its authorities and which aimed only to be guided by the inner necessities of the expansion of the self—to embrace new experiences, to enrich itself by the opening of its sensibilities.

The First World War and the Great Depression were the watershed. The erosion of the bourgeois ethic and of the puritanism of diligence, respectability, and self-restraint for the sake of prospective results which rendered one respectable was greatly aided by the Depression. The vanity of self-restraint was made evident; saving and striving were discredited; sexual self-restraint had been undermined by popular psycho-analysis and its literary popularisation in the period between the wars. More or less liberal, tolerant, and constitutional political *élites* had been shown to be incompetent by the prolonged slaughter of the First World War and by their failures in dealing with unemployment during the Great Depression. The régime of scarcity with which they were associated was discredited when their own legitimacy diminished. The same happened to the virtues of

abstinence and self-discipline preached from the pulpits. Ecclesiastical authority had been under a steady pressure of rational disbelief and indifference. Its legitimacy was further undermined in intellectual circles because of the association of the churches with the earthly régimes of external constriction and internal restraint already under assault from other sources.

The Second World War was followed by an efflorescence of material well-being in the advanced countries on a scale never previously experienced. Particularly for the educated classes, there seemed to exist a relatively unbounded vista of opportunity for interesting employment, for travel and for freedom from the restraints of impecuniousness, boring toil and confinement. Full employment, the welfare services, inflation, made unrealistic the conception of a rainy day for which to save. At the outermost reaches was the perpetual threat of extinction in a war fought with nuclear weapons. The anxiety about the latter accentuated the attachment to pleasures of the moment. The heir of these developments was the generation born after the end of the Second World War.

IN A VARIETY OF WAYS, this was a uniquely indulged generation. Parents who were in a state of unprecedented prosperity were persuaded of the merits of hedonism and were capable of giving some reality to its precepts in the raising of their children. They were convinced of the beneficence of a life free of repression and inhibition, and they treated their offspring with a concern and affection which seemed to confirm the prediction made by Ellen Key at the beginning of the 20th century that this was to be the "century of the child." Expanding incomes and unceasing freedom from the threat of unemployment—for the middle classes at least—made for a readiness to believe that scarcity had been expelled from human existence. A life beyond the dreams of avarice seemed to have become accessible to those whom the fortunes of birth—in time and status—had favoured. They were, moreover, an increasingly larger proportion of the population.

The post-war generation has grown up, too, in a society in which authority has been deprived of its sacredness. As the centre of society expanded, those in positions of authority acquired a new conception of their obligations. Democratic elections, moreover—and a populist outlook even where there were no democratic elections—have made rulers believe that they have to justify themselves by realising the desires of their citizenry. The expansion of individuality and the appreciation of the self, intricately related to enhanced self-esteem in many Western societies, have diminished

to some extent the arrogance of authority. The range of dispersion of dignity between the highest and the quite low has narrowed. It is certainly true that all Western—and all other—societies are far from the fulfilment of an ideal of equality. Power is unequally distributed, wealth is unequally distributed, income is unequally distributed but the deference-system of modern societies strains towards equalitarianism. Of course this "moral equality" is far from being realised; the strength of inherited beliefs and the presence of such tremendous concentrations of authority in the state and in great economic organisations—public and private—stand in the way of its realisation.

Nonetheless, the younger generation—living in the midst of the culturally juvenocentric society which Huizinga discerned already in the 1930s—is experiencing this moral equalitarianism to a far-reaching degree. New methods of pedagogy and exclusion from the labour market—as far as middle-class young persons are concerned—have reduced the amount of experience with severely hierarchical and repressive institutions. They are thereby spared direct contact with the very painful features of the condition of scarcity. But as much as the arrogance of authority has diminished, it has still not disappeared. Its diminution, moreover, has been more than balanced by the increased intolerability of what it seeks to impose. Sensitivity to the impositions of authority has greatly increased and almost every impingement on it from the outside—unless voluntarily chosen as part of the expansion of individuality—is painful to the point of unsupportability.

BASIC IN ALL THIS is the view that every human being simply by virtue of his humanity is an essence of unquestionable, indiscriminatable value with the fullest right to the realisation of what is essential in him. What is essential is his sensibility, his experienced sensation, the contents of his imagination, and the gratification of his desires. Not only has man become the measure of all things; his sentiments have become the measure of man. Provision for the growth of the capacity for unconfined sensation is the measure of the value of an institution. The goodness of a life consists in its continuous enlargement of these sensations and of the experiences which give rise to them. Institutions with their specialised and prescribed roles, their restrictions on individual wilfulness, the crystallisation of traditions and their commitments which bind the future by the past are repugnant to this aspiration towards an individuality which creates its temporary boundaries only in response to its internal needs. Authority is re-

pugnant too, and all that tradition brings down and imposes on the past.

All this is old stuff. This is what the romantics taught us. But romanticism was only a literary and more or less philosophical movement; it did not become a widely pervasive outlook and style of life for many persons. Writers, artists, and bohemians espoused and embodied it but its consistent following was small. The desacralisation of authority, the productivity of the economy, the growth of moral equality, and the spread of enlightenment and educational opportunity have resulted in the diffusion of a much more consequent romanticism throughout a much broader section of each Western society. The more prosperous classes are the recipients of its diffusion; the offspring of these classes are their purest products.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS in Western countries, despite an increased recruitment from among the offspring of the working classes, still come largely from middle- and upper-middle-class families. Many of those who have not come from these classes live in a cultural atmosphere of hedonistic expectations for the present and the future as much as do those who have come from families in which such expectations are to some extent realised. Many are supported from the public treasury, at the expense of taxpayers. The availability of opportunity to attend university is still interpreted by many students as it was in the past—as a first step into a less constricted future. Attendance at university which was once regarded as a stroke of the good fortune of birth or the result of exertion and which offered its beneficiaries a chance to diminish to some extent the rigours of the régime of scarcity is now, however, regarded by student radicals as itself part of an actual realm of plenitude. Anyone should have it for the asking and, once admitted, no further demands should be made except where the person on whom the demands are laid is also the one who makes them.

University students, in the view of 40 years ago, appeared to be on a straight road into a future which, in the light of the standards of the Enlightenment and in view of the immemorial fate of human beings, seemed to be extraordinarily rich in the possibilities of a

better life—at least for themselves if not for all the other members of their own societies. The student radicals of today have a quite different view of the matter; they do not wish to live in a society in which “the danger of death by starvation is replaced by the danger of death by boredom.” The denunciation of the “consumers’ society” is the common slogan of the French and West German student radicals; less explicit but no less pervasive, the same view obtains among the American and British student radicals. They do not wish to be part of a “repressively tolerant society” which seduces by its favours. They wish their universities to be “restructured” to become the microcosms of a total revolution from which, in moments of exhilaration, they think that the rest of the society can be no less totally transformed. The universities must become “participatory” and from there outward their “societies” must become “participatory.” They wish to choose their own teachers, form their own syllabi and, as a concession to a reality in which they do not wish to believe, they will accept examinations if they themselves participate in their construction and administration. By control over their universities, by “occupying” them, they give expression to sentiment. The mere expression of sentiment is an end in itself and the beginning of the transformation of society by the power of feeling. The slogan “imagination takes power” was indeed the appropriate maxim of a “revolution” constituted by taking asylum in university buildings with occasional sorties outward to hold “demonstrations of sentiment” and to fight with the police without any substantial objective such as the seizure of an arsenal, communication or transportation centres or any of the institutions crucial for the revolutionary seizure of power. Acts of feeling and states of mind are crucial.

Against Boundaries

THE STUDENT REVOLUTIONARIES criticise their universities for having become “integrated” into their respective societies but they are otherwise completely for integration. They believe that everything is integrated with everything else and that dispassionately acquired knowledge is an impossibility. They insist that “objectivity” and “neutrality” are simply masks which conceal the intention to serve “the system.” They do not wish their universities to become “ivory towers”; they refuse to acknowledge the differentiation of tasks or a division of labour among institutions. There is no task which they would not have their institutions undertake in the transformation of society; only the disciplined transmission of knowledge⁷ and

⁷ They seem to think so poorly of the transmission of knowledge as a university task that they insist that all learning must be through “dialogue” and “contestation.” They assume that the past has accomplished nothing, and that those who are ready to transmit the fruit or record of its accomplishments are simply repressive of the essential individuality of each student.

disciplined discovery are left unmentioned by them.

The slogans of "student power" (Great Britain and the United States), *cogestion* (France), and *Drittelparität* (West Germany) disregard the particular tasks of universities and the functions which these tasks qualify them to perform. The idea that there is a measure of inequality which is constitutive in the university's transmission of knowledge from those who possess more of it in particular spheres to those who possess less of it in those spheres is alien to their conception of the right order of life. For the same reason, equally alien is the idea that different institutions have different functions to perform. The very notion of differentiation and specialisation in a division of labour among individuals and among institutions is repugnant to them.

They demand—at least in the United States but also in France—that their universities cease to be connected with government—except presumably to be supported financially by it. At the same time, in the United States and in France, they insist that the universities take the responsibility—financial, primarily—for forming "participatory" communities in their own neighbourhoods. They wish their universities to be open to everyone; they are resolutely opposed to *selection*, to *numerus clausus*, and to the restriction on the use of university facilities and amenities to those who are its inscribed members. The "openness" or boundarylessness of institutions for which they contend is paralleled by their insistence on the openness of individual existence to new experience and new sensations. Hence, within their universities, the rebellious minority wish to be rid of all remnants of the institutions which embody the principle of *in loco parentis*. No restraints on their conduct are to be tolerated; neither restraints on their living arrangements, on their sexual associations or on their consumption of narcotics. They insist on an expanding series of subsidies for whatever activities they wish to engage in.

These views of life, society, and the university are not by any means shared by the entire generation of students today in the Western countries. Most of the students in most universities still share in the older culture. Nonetheless, the new "communitarian," "participatory"

culture—which is really the romantic hunger for *Gemeinschaft*⁸ on a more grandiose scale—pervades a substantial minority of the intelligent, sensitive and hyper-active students.

The Limits of Flattery

WHY SHOULD ALL THIS have occurred on such a scale since 1964? It is now almost 24 years since the end of the Second World War. Most of today's undergraduates were born in the late 1940s, most of the more advanced or graduate students were born during or just after the war. They were raised during the prosperity of the 1950s; they came to such maturity as they possess after the thaw of the Cold War.

In most of the countries of Western Europe and in North America, a considerable state of consensus has obtained between the ruling party and the bulk of the opposition. Socialist parties of aggressively radical bearing have been lacking, the Communist Parties, as in the United States and Great Britain, have nearly disappeared, or in countries where they are strong, they have gradually, as in Italy and France, become domesticated to bourgeois society. Therewith they have lost the attractive power which communist parties had for young antinomians in the heroic period of the Communist International. The hypersensitive student radicals of the past few years came, as they left adolescence, face to face with a "reactionary mass" formed by the major parties, the leading politicians, leading trades unionists and businessmen, leading journalists, leading academics and scientists, all committed to "the system." This "reactionary mass," so hated, has until recently not responded reciprocally.

I am speaking only of moderates, liberals, and conservatives, not of the chorus of bourgeois highbrows like Abendroth, Enzensberger, Touraine, Mahler, Tynan, Macdonald, Jacobs and countless others who flatter the student radicals and assure them of how right they are in whatever they demand. Many members of this flatterers' chorus are middle-aged adults who seek the ardours of their youth in the vicarious exhilaration of "sit-ins" and strikes. Old memories of revolutions dreamed of in cafés and salons are revived, embittered disillusion of the Moscow trials and of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 are dissipated by the thought of the new revolutionaries in the universities.

Great pains have been taken to appreciate their "just demands," as well as the legitimacy of their complaints about the vileness of life, the hypocrisy and lack of ideals of their parents, the terrible world which their parental genera-

⁸ I should like to take this opportunity to call attention to a forgotten book which deserves to be recalled and studied for its sober assessment of an earlier form of the present *Gemeinschaftsschwärmerei*. It is Professor Helmuth Plessner's *Grenzen der Gemeinschaft: eine Kritik des sozialen Radikalismus* (Bonn, 1923).

tion is bequeathing to them. Above all, the "sincerity" and "idealism" of the student radicals are praised. Great exertions are made to "understand" them and to discern what is valid in their discontents. Up until recently, scarcely a single politician has proposed that the lowering of the voting age to 18 should be deferred until the student disturbances abate. The occasional but increasingly frequent voices which demand the withholding or withdrawal of grants, scholarships, etc., from public funds have called forth from the despised agents of consensus and unideological politics strong words and often successful efforts to prevent such sanctions from being applied.

The moral self-abasement of a large part of the French literary and academic intellectual class in the face of the student "revolution" in May and June 1968 expressed a disposition which is to be found in nearly every Western country. The students have for the time being replaced the "working classes" at the highest point of the pantheon of the "progressive" intelligentsia. There is no evidence that student revolutionaries are impressed by this. As far as they are concerned it is only an attempt to moisten a flood.

Weak and compliant authorities occupying the highest positions in institutions which, by their nature and task, require the exercise of authority do not arouse respect or instil fear. They do not reconcile those who refuse (or are

unable) to distinguish them from genuine reactionaries. They only generate contempt and hostility, particularly when they themselves seem to believe so uncertainly in the legitimacy of their authority. Split, disunited, temporising, half-hearted authority which repeats against itself the charges made by the student radicals serves only to encourage more hostility. It must be said on behalf of the student radicals that they take with a large admixture of salt the flattery and self-abasement of their elderly admirers. But the feebleness of those whom their phantasy expects to be strong gives courage to their hostility. The absence of effective positive models and the faint-heartedness of those who oppose them open a free field for their aggressive dispositions.

IN THE ADVANCED WESTERN COUNTRIES the governments are nowadays generally humanitarian in their sympathies and progressive in their domestic social and economic policies. In many particular instances, their conduct diverges from these norms but on the whole, as compared with the constitutional governments of earlier decades—to say nothing of the fascist and communist governments—they are very liberal; they respect the freedom of expression, they legislate for the extension of welfare benefits and educational opportunity and submit to the insults and abuse directed towards them. By and large, they seldom order security forces to shoot looters and depredators: they generally attempt to restrain their agents in the face of rioters, and they are usually successful in doing so. Chicago, it is true, was an exception but it would be as wrong to deny its exceptional character as it would be to deny its excess.⁹ They are even more yielding and conciliatory in speech. They find it hard to refuse the claims to rightfulness of the students who are against them. At most, they denounce the malfactions as the work of a "tiny minority of extremists" while acknowledging in many respects the legitimacy of the demands of the student radicals. What is true of governments is even more true of university administrations.

Despite all this, the existing authorities do not abdicate their authority; they are only liberal in social policy and compliant before the denial of their own legitimacy. Despite their conciliatory statements that the students are right in this or that, despite their forbearance, they still go about the business of conducting their governments. They maintain and use their armed forces, they impose burdens of national military service, they administer régimes of scarcity which cannot provide enough for everyone.¹⁰ The same is true in universities; the teachers continue to occupy their professorships (and

⁹ The roughness of American and French police is notorious, but in all of the student demonstrations of last spring in Paris only one young man was fatally wounded during an altercation between demonstrators and police and he was the victim of a knife wound which has not been attributed to the police. And in the United States, the behaviour of the police in Chicago in front of the Hilton Hotel in August 1968, utterly incommensurate with the intended and real provocation, was also a deviation from the prevailing pattern. Recollection of American police conduct in labour disputes and towards radicals over the past century would soon disclose the relative domestication of the police in the past few years in dealing with "dangers to public order." All I contend above is that the agents of public order are much less harsh and repressive than they were during the 1920s and '30s in Western Europe and North America—and in many other places in the world.

¹⁰ The ineffectiveness of authority is a stimulus to aggressiveness against it. A deprivational, scarcity-administering authority puts itself into a difficult position when it acts ineffectively. If the United States government had been able to fight the war in Viet Nam successfully (even using the same technology it is now using in fighting without a positive outcome), I venture to say that it would not have aroused such animosity among student radicals as it has in the past few years.

associate and assistant professorships), to receive their salaries, to set, administer and mark examinations, pass judgments on dissertations and grant or withhold degrees and diplomas. Presidents and rectors of universities might make speeches and write articles explaining that much of the criticism which student radicals make of the ideal-less, faltering, contemporary, liberal society is just; but they do not dissolve their universities and they do not resign. They continue to operate their universities which, despite permissiveness and flexibility and flattery, continue to be selective institutions in a world of scarcity.

The Ordeals of Scarcity: Examinations

THE RADICAL STUDENTS are opposed to competition and the scarcity which necessitates it. Scarcity is constriction imposed by the structure of the world outside the self. The ideal of the expanding self, of impulse and desire realised at the moment of conception, of "participatory democracy" in which all selves are simultaneously and fully realised would come to nothing in a régime of scarcity. The ethos of student radicalism is the ethos of a régime of plenitude; but they know too that their societies are régimes of scarcity. Their critique of present-day society is directed against the scarcity which they allege it creates and imposes. They sometimes claim and always assume that a régime of plenitude is possible. In the world of their phantasy, the good life is a life lived in plenitude. But they know that scarcity exists and they are phantastically horrified by its continued existence. They are entranced by a vision of plenitude of which they also disapprove when they conceive of it in its present approximation as the "affluent society" or *société de consommation* or the *Konsumgesellschaft* but which has nonetheless become an essential part of their construction of reality. They also know that they live in a world of scarcity run by adults whose legitimacy they do not acknowledge and whose ascendancy they hate; they deny the inevitability of the realm of scarcity and at the same time they know that they themselves will not be able to avoid it. They know too that if they do not accept the rules of the régime of scarcity they will go to the wall. Dean Marc Zamansky, himself one of the acclaimers of student radicalism, told the striking students of the faculty of sciences in Paris, when they were debating the boycott of examinations, that even "a socialist society must be selective." A bourgeois society can hardly be any less so. Honours are scarce, first places are scarce, research grants and stipends are scarce,

professorships are scarce, appointments in the higher civil service are scarce, so even are interesting appointments in the film industry, in television, and in market research! They are of course all more available than they used to be, but the student rebels do not know the past any more than most other young persons and they do not take seriously what little they do know of it.

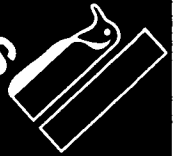
THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM is the focal point of the repugnance for the régime of scarcity, particularly in the European universities where they are so concentrated in comparison with the dispersion of the American examination system. In the United States, however, as if to compensate for the attenuation of strain by the dispersion of examinations, there is the other strain of having to obtain marks high enough to qualify for admission to an eminent graduate school and then the serious strain of post-graduate work. The radicals among American undergraduates are also those disposed to go on to graduate school for no other reason than that it is less obnoxious than the bourgeois world outside. It is to those better universities with famous graduate schools, which are also more liberal and therefore more popular with student radicals, that admission is sought. Places in such universities are scarce and their régime is severe for those who succeed in entering. In American universities, postgraduate studies, to make up for the lightness of undergraduate courses, are densely organised. Many of the students are married and feel the pressing proximity of philistine life—family, job, routine responsibilities, assimilation into the great machine where ideals are only a fragrance; and hard decisions in the allocation of scarce resources to alternative ends must be made. The long drawn-out proceedings of acquiring a postgraduate degree—several sets of examinations and an elaborate research dissertation—and a real or imagined dependence on the good will and sponsorship of one's supervisor for financial support and then for appointment to a teaching or research post on completion, add to the strain. All this underscores the discrepancy between the ideal of a régime of plenitude and the "hard facts of life" so often and so rightly referred to by older critics of student radicalism. It all comes at the worst possible time—at the point of passage which separates the open life of the expanding individuality from the dreaded knuckling under to authority.

It is not for nothing that the French "revolutionaries," once they occupied the Sorbonne and other university buildings and distracted their minds from examinations by the exhilaration

Herbert Marcuse

'Marcuse has made an important contribution to the history of ideas'
Times Educational Supplement

Allen Lane
The Penguin Press



An Essay on Liberation

Is the restructuring of man possible? Marcuse believes it is; he sees in the uprising of French students in May 1968 the first powerful rebellion against existing society. The new sensibility has become a political fact, and in this he sees hope of the liberation of man. **An Essay on Liberation**, his latest book, is both concise and startling, and marks a new phase in Marcuse's thought.

Eros and Civilization

When it was first published in the United States **Eros and Civilization** was quickly recognised as an important re-examination of Freud's thought. Marcuse is concerned not with a corrected or improved interpretation of Freudian concepts but with their implication of psychoanalysis, not to the philosophy of psychoanalysis itself. This essay moves exclusively in the field of theory, and keeps outside the technical discipline that psychoanalysis has become. The author's hope is to forward the development of the theoretical construction which aims not at curing individual sickness but at diagnosing the general disorder.

Both to be published
on 22 May

of meetings of action committees and fighting with the police from behind barricades of largely symbolic function, soon began to worry about their examinations. Nor is it for nothing that the German student radicals—sprung from a breed famous for putting off the dreaded examinations—should demand that students sit on examining bodies and that the examination system be transformed.

It does not therefore seem to me to be accidental that the outbursts all over Europe and the United States reached their height in the spring of 1968 just at the time when students normally begin to prepare themselves for examinations. It was fitting that within a short time after the occupation of the Sorbonne, examinations—whether they should be boycotted, put off, abolished, transformed or, in the last resort, taken—came to occupy the centre of the revolutionaries' attention.

I do not contend that examinations and examinations alone are the causes of the present student unrest,¹¹ and that they provide an exhaustive explanation of why the disorders occurred on such a grand scale in the first half of 1968.

Issues & Non-Causes

TO UNDERSTAND WHY 1968 saw such an expansion of radical student activity it is not sufficient to consider, for each country taken singly, the feelings of grievance which have a loose connection with the causes and the issues which have been made of the grievances. The condition of youth in each country, the domestic and international political situation of each country, and the state of higher educational institutions in each country cannot provide an adequate explanation of the outburst.

It is certainly true that every society has its own history and its own boundaries, and in each of the countries there have been processes and institutional practices which have in a sense

¹¹ Examinations and their appurtenances are among the main occasions of student disorder in Indian higher education. The confrontation of a kinship-dominated culture of diffuse expectations, such as that of the student in his familial *foyer*, with the culture which demands specific performances as conditions for prospective rewards such as examination marks, appointments to particularly desirable positions, etc., creates much tension.

¹² The French academic session of 1967–68 began late by about two weeks because of insufficient facilities. The students were already apprehensive in October and November 1967 about whether they would be held responsible in the examinations for material omitted because of the shortened period of teaching.

lives of their own. Furthermore, these processes and institutional practices are fairly similar to each other across national boundaries and these have made for similarities of response. The growth of affluence has been common; the growth in the numbers of university students; the lag (except in Great Britain) of facilities behind numbers; the large size of many universities in the United States and on the Continent; the trends in the development of the idea of the expanding self; the war in Viet Nam; consensus politics of the major parties; etc., etc., are elements common to almost all the major Western countries, but they do not explain why so much happened within a relatively short period.

It is also true that in France, Italy, and Germany conditions in the universities became aggravated by the neglect of necessary reforms in university government and structure.¹² But the same could not be said of Great Britain or the United States.

The internal domestic regulations and disciplinary arrangements of American universities are certainly irksome to some students, as have been the occasional arrogation of power and its unthinking use by professional university administrators (e.g., the withdrawal of the "speakers corner" at Berkeley in 1964); and sensitivity to this has also become sharper and more reactive in the past few years. But there has been no aggravation of such control in the last years. Above all, there is the continuation of the war in Viet Nam in all its cruelty and its unending ineffectiveness and the menace of conscription into the most individuality-constricting of environments; draft card burning, Dow Chemical, C.I.A. and Army forces recruiting officers, Institute of Defense Analysis affiliations and the Reserve Officers Training Corps are all part of the Viet Nam complex. Finally, the agitation of Negro extremists in the United States has increased as the moderate leadership has become depleted, and with it the idiom of violence has become more widespread and more permissible. At the same time the number of Negro students in the universities has increased and with it an increasingly obstinate intransigence in their demands for segregation in residence and curriculum and for Negro student power. The reluctance of the Negro students to collaborate with the white students has caused the radical white students to be more radical in order to show how fervent they are in the Negro cause.

For British radical students there are Rhodesia, Mr. Enoch Powell, the supply of arms to Nigeria, the tacit, uncomfortable and negligible support of the British Government for American action in Viet Nam, "co-residence," college gate hours, biological warfare research, etc.

In the German universities, reforms in the system of academic self-government have made slow and unsteady progress while radical German students have intensified their extra-academic concerns. For German students, there have been the Springer press, the Shah of Iran, the alliance of the Federal Government with the United States, the recognition of the East German Democratic Republic, the emergency legislation of the spring of 1968, and the legalisation of the German Communist Party. For French students, there has been very little since the end of the war in Algeria except for anti-Americanism and unlimited visiting between the sexes in university cities. From time to time specific issues like the free distribution of *cours photocopiés* arose but passed away. There were also fights with the extremist *Occident* but these did not lead to large-scale demonstrations or strikes.

In Italy, there were many fights between antagonistic extremists of various designations but until recently these did not precipitate a "confrontation" with the authorities on a broad front. Although university conditions have continued to be very poor and the government and parliament have been very laggard in the promotion of reform, student agitation in Italy only became acute in connection with the Venice Biennale, the Milan Triennale, and examinations. In Spain, the conflict between students on the one hand and the authorities in government and the university has been unremitting and the original domestic issue of "free student syndicates" has been increasingly supplemented by anti-Americanism (Viet Nam, American aid to Spain) and fitful collaboration with the illegal "workers' commission."¹³

The intervention of the police in student disturbances within or outside universities has inevitably and everywhere become a major issue which has drawn into the wake of student radicalism large numbers of students previously

¹³ The Japanese disturbances are recurrent and of fluctuating intensity and scale. The issue there is the Japanese defence agreement with the United States and particular issues appear from time to time such as the visit of a United States naval vessel or a trip by the Japanese prime minister to the United States. On the whole the Japanese movement has not been synchronised with that in Western Europe and America; although it was only moderately active in the first half of 1968, it assumed very large proportions only in the latter part of the year, when the European movement had reached its peak and then somewhat abated.

In Mexico, a long period of quiet was followed in 1968 by extraordinary demonstrations and violence, originating in no easily discernible academic or political issue.

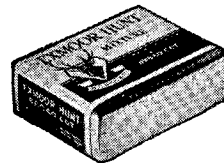


Great thinkers smoke alike

And great thinking is Exmoor Hunt.

Here's a tobacco that lets you relax. That leaves you deep in thought and undisturbed. When you sit back with a pipeful* of Exmoor Hunt you are smoking a tobacco with over a century of Bristol expertise behind it, enjoying the mellow flavour and aroma which comes from this fine blend of Virginia, Cavendish, Latakia and other choice tobaccos – and that's something to think about. No wonder great thinkers smoke alike – like smoking Exmoor Hunt.

* A Barling pipe, naturally!



Exmoor Hunt

Broad or medium cut
1 oz. 7/6 2 oz. vacuum tin 15/-

EX 19L

relatively indifferent to the concerns of the radicals.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH a pattern of precipitating causes operating in each country in 1968 to account for the flood of student radicalism in that year. It appears more reasonable to assert that in the major Western countries there has developed among a minority of students a common political culture, a common image of the world nurtured by a common fundamental ethos—the ethos of the expanding ego and of a régime of plenitude in a situation which receives a common interpretation. The common situation is one of weak authority, elaborate and demanding organisation, a wide consensus around the centre of society, a high level of affluence through most of the society, and the loss of *élan* of traditional revolutionary and radical parties and doctrines.

Many of the issues around which the passions of the radical students focus are not seriously or deeply cared about. What does the German SDS care about Iran or about the protection of civil liberties in Western Germany? The accusations of anti-Negro prejudice against the newly appointed director of the London School of Economics, for example, were frivolous. The accusations of indifference to Negro needs on the part of the Columbia University administration were a little better based but they were not quite as the SDS alleged. The concentration of effort to frustrate the Dow personnel officers was much ado about nothing.

The insulting of M. Missoffe, the Minister for Youth and Sport, when he opened the swimming pool in the faculty of letters at Nanterre, was a confrontation pure and simple; M. Missoffe was a harmless figure and the swimming pool could do no harm either. But he was a minor member of the Government of France and he had been invited by the authorities of the university. He was simply the occasion for expressing hostility against governmental and academic authority. The protest against the visit of the Shah of Iran (which was the occasion of the death of Benno Ohnesorg at the hands of the police) was not a serious issue for the West Berlin students; it was the occasion for a confrontation in which authority could be abused and discomfited. The striking thing about all of these precipitating issues is how soon they disappeared under the onrush of subsequent responses.

At the London School of Economics, the merits and demerits of Dr. Adams were forgotten in favour of resistance to the disciplinary actions threatened by the authorities of the School following the death of a porter. The long "sit-in" disregarded Dr. Adams; it was

concerned with the removal of the penalties against the suspended students. At Columbia, protests against the action of the university administration in summoning the police and against the police for their unnecessarily harsh action soon dwarfed protests against the university's policy to build a gymnasium in Morning-side Park and even against its relationship to the Institute of Defense Analysis. At Wisconsin, protests against the university's use of police and against the conduct of the police placed the prior protests against the Dow Chemical Company in the shadows. In West Berlin, the agitation following the death of Benno Ohnesorg consigned the Shah of Iran far into the recesses of student radical memory. In Paris, even the issues of visiting rights of the two sexes in university cities and of the disciplinary proceedings against Cohn-Bendit and his colleagues were put aside in favour of amnesty of those arrested during the demonstrations and skirmishes of the nights of May.

ALL THESE ISSUES are very disparate and they do not tell us why they should have emerged with such an uproar this year. The earth is a vale of tears but it was certainly not much worse in 1968 than in other years in the past century-and-a-half. The horrified resistance of those possessed by phantasies of the régime of plenitude to the oncoming pressure of the régime of scarcity does not explain why the outburst occurred this year. Nor does the war in Viet Nam and student hostility to it explain it. Certainly the lagging of university reform on the Continent does not explain it either.

Centre & Periphery

WE ARE FAR FROM LIVING in a single world community but the rudiments of a world society do exist. The international scientific community is the most international of all the elements of this rudimentary world society. Learned and scientific periodicals, international scientific societies, and the universities are the most elaborated and most internationally coherent parts of this rudimentary world-wide network of institutions. They do, at least at their peaks, have common standards, common heroes, and a unifying sense of affinity. Students through their membership in universities share in some of this, and their sense of sharing in it is accentuated among a fluctuatingly small group by an acute sense of generational identity.

Although international student organisations are of little significance in the concert of action of 1968, and although students have nothing like a major scientific or scholarly press which creates a common focus of attention and a common awareness of leading accomplishments

and personalities, they have an effective surrogate in the mass media—the newspaper press, wireless and television. Information flows rapidly without a student international, without the use of a cumbersome system of couriers and coded messages such as international revolutionary organisations had to use. The radical students have not created this organ of their movement but they have been responsive to it and indeed, being aware of its value, direct their actions to it. They value television publicity as much as do the figures of the entertainment world or of politics, and they are as sensitive to it. Their generational identity, the large radius of their attention and the internationality of the academic system render them very reactive to what the mass media bring to them. The students are members of the rudimentary international society.

This rudimentary international society is no more equalitarian in fact than are the various national societies. This is as true of scientific distinction as it is of wealth and political power. The scientific world has its centres and its peripheries just as any national society has, and so does the sphere of student radicalism. What happens in the periphery does not radiate to the centre, the movement is in the contrary direction. When the Indian students erupt as they

have been doing quite continuously for about 20 years, Western students do not attend to that. They attend to it even less than their teachers in biochemistry or sociology attend to what is being done in biochemistry or sociology by their colleagues in the Indian universities. When the Spanish students contend with their academic and governmental authorities or when they fight with the police, that too goes unnoticed. For years Latin American students have been participating in the government of their universities and striking and fighting with the police, but that too has gone unnoticed in student circles in Western countries. In the Sudan student demonstrations precipitated the fall of the government of General Aboud. That went unnoticed. In South Korea students helped to bring down President Syngman Rhee; that caused no stir among European or American students. The accomplishment of the Turkish students in the face of the Menderes régime found an equally inattentive audience among Western students. Even a more powerful country like Japan produces little demonstration effect. When the *Zengakuren* went on a rampage to prevent President Eisenhower from visiting their country, the facts became known but they did not become exemplary. When the Indonesian KAMI helped to bring down the un-



This portrait of the artist as a young man was taken in 1904, the year in which he set a novel which Virginia Woolf called 'the scratching of pimples on the bootboy at Claridges'. Ernest Hemingway called it 'a most goddam wonderful book'. From 1919 to 1969 it has fought its way past legal action and blind prejudice to something like universal acceptance as the greatest novel of the twentieth century. It is the book which every other novelist would like to have written and which, in one Dublin day's compass, presents an imperishable monument to the human condition. It has just become a Penguin Book at 10s. It is *Ulysses* by James Joyce.

spoken coalition of Sukarno and the PKI, what they did was admired but not attended to. When the gallant students of the *Po Prostu* circle helped to bring about the short-lived and now dead Polish October, the students of Berkeley and London found no inspiration there. When, however, in 1964 the University of California students in Berkeley began their "revolution," the radiation from the centre outwards began. It was like the radiation of the revolution of February from Paris in 1848, when all of Europe felt the repercussions.

THE BERKELEY MODEL was diffused to West Berlin. One of the original instigators of the events of West Berlin was Ekkehard Krippendorf who had been a graduate student in political science in the United States at the crucial time. Until the "Krippendorf affair" (arising from Krippendorf's allegedly insulting behaviour towards the rector of the Free University), the West German students had not been rebellious. When agitation in West Berlin became chronic and intense it spread to the rest of Western Germany; from Berkeley, it also spread to the London School of Economics, employing the same idiom and the same tactics, and it spread—very lightly and unevenly—to other British universities. From Western Germany, it spread to Nanterre through the personal embassy of Daniel Cohn-Bendit. With the emergence of the movement in Nanterre, the tone and vigour of student radicalism changed markedly. The 22nd of March Movement spread to the Sorbonne only in May after the great student strike at Columbia in April, and after the anti-Springer demonstrations and riots which followed the attempted assassination of Rudi Dutschke in the same month. For a time, in a way not pleasing to General de Gaulle but in conformity with the main direction of his desires, Paris once more became the centre of the world. (He would have been even less pleased than he was, however, had he reflected that the technique of those who made Paris momentarily into the centre of the world of *chientit* had been imported from the United States where it had first been used by automobile workers in Michigan and later by Negroes in the Southern states.) From Paris it spread to such peripheral academic backwaters as Brussels, Rome, Florence, Milan and Dakar.

Why 1968?

THE TRANSIENCE OF INITIAL ISSUES testifies not to the forgetfulness of the student radicals but to the fact that, however passionate they might be at the moment, they are not serious about the objects of their protest.

But they are serious about something. They are serious about authority. Whether they really wish to destroy it is another matter. A small number are really revolutionary in their intentions and look forward—rather vaguely, it is true—to the elimination of existing authorities and their replacement by new authorities who will be committed to the realisation of the revolutionaries' utopia. Some are really anarchists who wish and believe it possible to eliminate not only presently incumbent authority but all authority. But most of the student radicals are neither revolutionaries nor anarchists in the sense of meaning business. What they want to do is to annoy and frustrate authority, to bewilder it and enrage it. They wish to taunt it and cause it to lose control over itself and thus to show their own ascendancy over it. They wish to humiliate authority and degrade it.

This brings me back to the general predisposition and immediate precipitation of last year's outbreaks. In Western Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1968 was a poor year for governments. In the United States in particular, the image of the ineptitude of President Johnson, exemplified in the faltering and failing conduct of the war in Viet Nam, the inability to bring the disturbances in Negro districts of the big cities to an end, the enfeeblement of urban public order in other respects, and the lack of spectacular results from the poverty programme, has made government authority into an easy target. The possibility that he could be succeeded by Senator Eugene McCarthy made for an even greater aggressiveness against incumbent authority. In Great Britain, the recurrence of the crisis of sterling and the devaluation, the failure to compel admission into the Common Market, and powerlessness in the face of the Smith régime in Rhodesia, as well as the flagrant impropriety of the government's treatment of the East African Asians who held British passports, have darkened the visage of the Labour Government. For different reasons, the Federal German Government is in the same position. In France the mounting criticism of General de Gaulle from the ineffective opposition parties and the immobility of the General's government, as well as the small majority by which he was returned in the general election which preceded the crisis, had similar consequences. These were aggravated too by the absence of the two most powerful figures in the government (General de Gaulle in Rumania and M. Pompidou in Afghanistan) when events were cascading—the image of a strong and effective authority was replaced by one of feebleness and abdication. Where authority abdicates through failure, ineptitude, and weakened self-confi-

dence, it invites aggression against itself. That is what happened in the spring of 1968.

IF THIS COMPLEX OF FACTORS accounts for the concert of confrontations in the advanced Western countries, how do we account for the magnitude and especially for the speed with which movements of *groupuscules* became "mass movements"?

Wherever authority is confronted and takes aggressive even if limited counteraction, there are some victims. The repressive actions—police action and intra-university disciplinary proceedings—always enlarge the size of the student group drawn into the confrontation of the second stage. The students whose sensibilities are affronted by repressive action are much more numerous than the student radicals; they are drawn into confrontation on an issue which is quite different from those on which the smaller group of radical pioneers took the initial steps of challenging authority. The issues become transformed, and the newly involved protesters are drawn from a different stratum of opinion among the students. This is when amnesty becomes the main issue.

Why is the second and usually much larger group drawn in? Originally, they were more moderate and kept their distance from the ex-

treme, particular, and sometimes fairly specific demands of the pioneering nucleus of disturbance. Yet, when the issue becomes the redemption of those subjected to discipline or injury they become as involved, as adamant and as daring as those whose initial confrontation was the prelude to their own involvement. It is also usually among these somewhat more responsible elements that demands for *cogestion* and *Drittelparität* obtain some honest support.

The rapidity with which repressive measures by authority galvanise a larger support among students previously inactive indicates that there is moral consensus within the student generation deeper than that about the particular and often trivial and transient issues the tiny minority of extremists invoke. In one form or another, this consensus centres on a belief in the rightfulness of the free expression of sentiment and impulse; it works through a quick expansion of empathy to the victims of authority. The strength of the belief is not so great that it is continuously prominent, but constrictive and repressive activities by authorities shock it into salience. This ethos of the expansive ego, free from constraint and from sanctions—from all that scarcity imposes in the world—is the bond which unites the extremist *groupuscules* and the larger circle around them. The differ-

An American Melodrama



The Presidential Campaign 1968

Lewis Chester
Godfrey Hodgson
Bruce Page

Book of the Month Club Choice, US
Literary Guild Choice, UK

Political journalism at its most vigorous and penetrating best; an André Deutsch/Sunday Times 'Insight' team collaboration of compelling interest. 63s

The End of Obscenity

Charles Rembar

Foreword by Norman Mailer

The trials of *Lady Chatterley*, *Fanny Hill* and *Tropic of Cancer* by the lawyer who defended them. 63s

Inward Hunger

Eric Williams

'A firework display of historical analysis, political controversy and frank personal reminiscence.' Denis Judd, *Sunday Telegraph* 42s

Andrei Sakharov

Progress, Co-existence & Intellectual Freedom

'Inestimably important document.' Edward Crankshaw, *Observer* 25s

Two important reissues

Norman Mailer

The Deer Park 30s

V. S. Naipaul

The Suffrage of Elvira 25s

André Deutsch



ence between them is that in the former it is intense and continuous, in the latter attenuated, only intermittently intense and easily subsided. It spreads through what used to be called "contagion" by old-fashioned students of the dancing manias of the Middle Ages or of the tulip craze. Involvement in a confrontation is a state of mind difficult to describe. It seems to entail the departure from the daily categories of perception and judgment. The focus of attention is changed; the assessment of what is important is changed; routine tasks disappear from consciousness, at least for a time. Enthusiasm, exhilaration, exaltation are the more vivid features of discourse and conduct of those swept into a confrontation. In my limited experience, I have also been impressed with the fluency of young persons who in ordinary academic situations speak with deliberation and hesitation. The fluency serves a repertoire of clichés, most of which refer to the virtues of the expanding ego, the deadness of the past, the continuous rebirth of the self. Schemes proliferate endlessly. Glossolalia was the only name I have for it. The mind falls into the possession of the daemon of plenitude, and the tongue speaks with the daemon's language.

A PRECONDITION FOR POSSESSION is the extraordinary generational self-consciousness of university students and perhaps of all young persons in contemporary advanced societies. Their sense of kinship, class, and national identity seems to be less than in preceding generations. In contrast with this, there has been a very pronounced increase in the sense of affinity with other persons of the same generation. There is a sensitivity to the equal vitality of others at the same stage of physiological development which makes for empathy and entry into a paradoxically ego-transcending community. That is why the spirit can spread and take possession so rapidly.

The Future of Student Enthusiasm

WHAT OF THE FUTURE? Will the present enthusiasm die away and will the student body return to its ways of 40 or 60 years ago? Or, at the other extreme, will the present trend of sentiment continue to spread so that universities as we have known them will cease to exist and will be replaced by perfervid communities in which all is dialogue and little or nothing is taught and nothing discovered except the vacuum of the expanding and contentless self?

I think that the former alternative is unlikely. That, however, is not necessarily to be feared. Universities have changed in structure in the past; they have changed the content of what

was taught and they have also changed their structures of government. Of course, they cannot become what the proponents of dialogue in a community governed by student power think they wish them to be.

The renewal, intensification, and expansion of utopianism will not go away without leaving a trace. The phantasy of plenitude and the belief in the sacredness of the immediately experienced impulse and sensation will not disappear—it is too much a part of a cosmic development which, fused with received beliefs and categories of judgment, will be entirely tolerable and perhaps even mark a step forward in the evolution of the human spirit. In the extreme forms in which they are fragmentarily adumbrated today, however, they will not be able to subvert the existing academic order—any more than revolutionary Marxism succeeded in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries in subverting any of the advanced societies of Western Europe and North America. But this possibility of withstanding the ravages of the "possessed" is not a certainty. It will be stayed only if those who have taken positions of responsibility in the universities everywhere in the world stand firmly by traditions of teaching, training and research as the proper task of universities and do not allow themselves to be swept away by the desire to be "with it," to relive their lost youth or to prolong their fading youth. If vice-chancellors, rectors, deans, presidents, professors, lecturers and all those who are senior members of universities know how to adhere to their academic traditions and are not afraid of being condemned as "purists" or "elitists," then they will be able to preserve the universities. They will, by adhering to their central traditions and making modifications on secondary matters, stiffen the morale and restore the good sense of the large number of their students who waver when their elders divide and falter. When they do so, they will isolate the charismatic antinomian destroyers. Nothing dismays and disheartens charismatic types like the disappearance of their audience and the cohesion of their enemies.

THE PRESENT STATE OF possession will ebb. Widespread enthusiasm has never persisted before in human history, and it is not likely to do so in the future. Most students will return to their studies and will re-enter the body of moderates, variously diligent, variously interested in their studies, variously deep and original. Some student consultation in the government of academic institutions will occur and it will be, as the student radicals fear it will be, "incorporated" into the governing system of most universities.

The ideal university of the realm of plenitude will never come into existence. There will be eccentric "free universities"—there have always been odd institutions at the periphery of higher educational systems.¹⁴

The isolation and disheartening of the zealots will not cause them to vanish. Cells will continue to exist. They might even exist within universities although care will have to be taken to render that difficult. As a phenomenon, on the scale of the past few years or perhaps on a somewhat larger scale, their future is poor. Nonetheless, even though their influence is diminished they will have their successors. They are the creatures of the dream of a régime of plenitude. They cannot be conjured away and they cannot be gratified by flattery from elders.

In the United States, the war in Viet Nam will be brought to a halt, and the Negroes will be treated with a greater measure of indifference to their colour. The universities will be somewhat reformed in France, Germany, and Italy; the Spanish Government might allow students to have their own unions—it is already moving haltingly in that direction, although perhaps the moment has passed when it could do it without cost to anything but its obstinate pride. If the parents who are still legally responsible for their minor offspring agree that university should not stand *in loco parentis*, then that

feature of Anglo-American university life will be modified. Students everywhere outside the Communist countries are likely to be granted consultative powers in certain university decision-making bodies, and in some matters they will be given a share in the making of decisions.

All these changes, desirable in themselves, will not however resolve the deeper tensions between a cultural tradition which fosters individuality and the vision of a realm of plenitude, and a society the institutions of which require efficiency, competence, selection on the basis of past and prospective accomplishment, and differential rewards. The task is to contain the extreme, ideological manifestations of the former while enabling the latter to benefit from its attenuation.

¹⁴ There might even be black studies "faculties" with "black teachers" chosen by "black students" teaching "black perspectives" in some ill-guided American universities and colleges, with the same academic qualities and standards as departments of home economics, physical education, hotel administration, or chiropody. The American higher educational system is enormously heterogeneous, and it has shown in the past a remarkable ability to tolerate the academically most degraded kinds of activities alongside excellent teaching, training, and research.

A book that faces the key issue of our times—the future of truly radical socialism

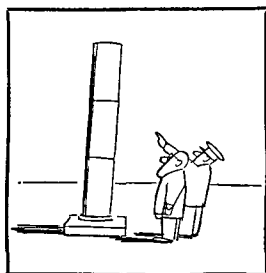
THE STATE IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY

RALPH MILIBAND

Dr Miliband, who teaches politics at the L.S.E., has written the first book for many years to attempt a comprehensive analysis of the nature and role of the state in western societies, and to find a new language for the purpose. He presents a sustained and concrete challenge to the conventional assumptions of the political scientists: that in the West we have seen 'the end of ideology', and that we have 'a pragmatic consensus' centred on the ideas of pluralism and a mixed economy. The book's thorough and detailed scholarship ensures that it is both controversial and influential.

Weidenfeld & Nicolson 5 Winsley St London W1 45s





Column

ALL AUTHORS exist in the minds of their readers, but some do so more variously than others. Stendhal, for example, comes in hundreds of different forms: there is my

Stendhal, there is your Stendhal, and there is a quite astonishing Stendhal belonging to Professor Mayhap of Bison College. My Stendhal—who, I am confident, is the only real Stendhal—is a very comical writer: you remember, I'm sure, that wonderful bit of farce with the ladder in *The Red and The Black*—how Julian keeps putting it up to climb into Madame Whatsit's window every night, and how the gardener finds it there every morning and keeps hiding it in a more difficult place, and how Julian has to cruise round and round the garden in the dark trying to find it: this is comedy's rebuke to romanticism, or, if you prefer, one Stendhal's rebuke to another Stendhal. The same absurd business crops up in *The Charterhouse of Parma* when Fabrizio is immured in a ghastly castle turret and keeps flashing messages to his mistress in pseudo-Morse with a lantern that doesn't burn properly: I can always face life better when I recall this nonsense. But I have to dodge Professor Mayhap, who owns a totally different Stendhal and, though he takes grave note of something called "irony," has never seen so much as a titter on his man's face. I have to admit that Mayhap's Stendhal is shared by most owners of Stendhal: none of the books and essays I have read have been subtitled "Clown of the Siècle" or "Grock of Grenoble"—indeed, not one has ever hinted that reading Stendhal can be funny.

Dostoevsky is another funny man—in parts. All the opening part of *The Possessed* is wonderfully sour humour, though rarely read as such. There is also *The Eternal Uncle*, and the story of the bureaucrat who was swallowed by a crocodile: "I suppose I am a sort of grass-widow now," his wife said, as he shouted to her from inside. All pinched from Gogol—though one must not say so, of course.

Tolstoy, on the other hand, is less susceptible to private ownership. I doubt if there are more than a dozen Tolstoys in existence, and each of these can be walked in much the same dog-collar. Off-beat Tolstoys exist, there is no doubt

of that (see the essays on Lear and Wagner), but they have been squeezed out reluctantly from the morose parent-form and were never intended by Tolstoy to snap off into other people's Tolstoys. One self-possessed figure was always Tolstoy's intention.

I think the same goes for George and Weedon Grossmith. It is quite clear that most of us agree about *The Diary of a Nobody*: certainly, I have never read any report on it that did not seem intelligent, and understanding, and accurate—by which I mean, any report that I wouldn't have written myself. It is impossible to walk off with a private Mr. Pooter: there is only one of him and he is shared by all his friends. If I were an ambitious man and wanted to get a corner on a greater man, so as to give me a living in a plummy seat, I am sure that I would plump for Goethe, say, rather than Grossmith. It would mean having to read more and work harder, and hold my own in competition with some pretty dull men. But I would never run out of road, because while there can only be one Carrie Pooter, I could invent a thousand Gretchens. Meantime, I should like to do a practice-run on Thomas Hardy.

HARDY'S NOVELS I will leave to those who like them and have more space. *The Dynasts*, too, because I have never read it and have always believed that it is wrong to risk mistakes that cannot be passed off as printer's errors. Luckily, the multiple Hardys are all in the *Collected Poems*, where we can pick and choose our own Hardy with an astonishment that never dies and a happiness that is life-long. The whole game of Hardy-picking is made the more fascinating by the fact that Hardy himself had no critical Hardy standard whatever. Whatever Hardy wrote was good enough for Hardy—probably because each poem showed a particular Hardy, and Hardy was not fussy about which Hardy. One is quite awed by the fact that he could write so badly—something that one takes for granted in an author like, say, Theodore Dreiser, who knew no other way. But Hardy could do the best and the worst quite haphazardly, just as he could "wist" and "wot" and "'Tis" and "wanton" through stanza upon stanza and then hit you hard between the eyes with something dreadfully brusque. Irving Howe, in his new study,¹ is very generous about Hardy's bad taste in Hardy: he compares Hardy to the painter who "even in dry periods chooses to keep his hand in through persistent sketching." In my opinion, Hardy didn't know a dry period from a wet one: he just liked to plough the field and scatter, regardless of the weather.

Mark van Doren has said that "No poet more stubbornly resists selection," because there is "no core of pieces, no inner set of classic or

¹ *Thomas Hardy*. By IRVING HOWE. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 25s.

perfect poems, which would prove his rank." Professor Howe disagrees. He is sure that "one is likely to be satisfied with a good deal less than the entirety of the poems." He asks for "sharp discriminations"—and I feel sure he is right. One should go through the poems with a pencil, putting crosses next to the good ones—saying, as of Hardy's own memorable bird:

*This is the weather the cuckoo likes,
And so do I.*

The question then comes down to which weather is most agreeable to which cuckoo, or, Here's my Hardy, Show me Yours.

Howe's Hardy surprises me greatly. None of the poems he quotes tally with the ones I have put crosses against. Of an example of Hardy speaking "in his own voice," Professor Howe gives:

*We smiled upon each other then,
And life to me had less
Of that fell look it wore ere when
They owned their passiveness.*

I find this a very dull bird—though I admit, of course, that the badness of the third line stirs me more to affection than indignation. Clearly, Professor Howe's heart has needs that my heart wots not of; clearly, all criticism of Hardy is largely an exercise in autobiography. In fact, when I read Professor Howe's Hardy, I only see clearly how concerned Professor Howe is with Hardys that are no concern of mine. And when you think that this is happening all over the world—thousands of people all giving Hardy their own voices and each feeling sure that his own is Hardy's own—well, the poet can at least be congratulated on having achieved diversity.

I shall now come clean and trot out my own Hardy. There is a fair number of him, each with a different voice:

(1) JIGS AND CONFESSIONS OF A YOUNG MAN. These include wonderful lines about how people dressed up to the nines and chundered about

*When she was the charm of the idle town
And he the pick of the club-fire set. . .*

Of these, my favourite is the splendid one that opens with the thundering—indeed, staggering—line:

Who now remembers Almack's balls?

(which only Hardy could have written) and has delicious bits like:

*With hats on head and morning coats
There footed to his prancing notes
Our partner-girls and we. . .*

and

*Where to the deep Drum-polka's booms
We hopped in standard style.*



**ROUTLEDGE &
KEGAN PAUL**

The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880

HAROLD PERKIN *Professor of Social History, University of Lancaster* Shows that modern class society first emerged during the Industrial Revolution which Professor Perkin sees as no mere sequence of technological changes, but a social revolution with social causes and a social process as well as profound social effects. This study analyses the birth of the new class society and its development through the violent conflicts of its formative years into the viable class society of its mid-Victorian maturity.

Studies in Social History

56s

The Political Sciences

*General Principles of Selection in
Social Science and History*

HUGH STRETTON *Department of History, University of Adelaide* A study of different methods and approaches used by researchers in various social sciences—history, sociology, political sciences and economics. It examines the scientific effects of ideology, and the political effects of scientific methods.

55s

African Penal Systems

Edited by ALAN MILNER *Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.* Sixteen distinguished contributors—sociologists, lawyers, and psychiatrists—explore the problems peculiar to African criminology.

70s

True, it all ends, like so much of Hardy, with the worms munching Housmanly away at the erstwhile lads and lasses, but never mind! I like to think of *my* Hardy bouncing up and down in his button boots "To a thundering Jullien air," because there is too much a tendency to think him quite unhoppable and dour, and even to say, as Professor Howe does: "As a poet, he was seldom genuinely youthful."

(2) SHOCKING AND SURPRISING POEMS. These used to include Hardy's views on God, but I don't think that is the case any more. T. S. Eliot was very scornful about Hardy's disbelief, but I would much rather disbelieve with Hardy than believe with Eliot. Naked missionary ladies pegged out on ant-hills were the weather that Eliot liked, and I believe that if that is the sort of thing you go cuckoo about, you should go easy on kindly people like Hardy who come to terms with worms but draw the line at self-inflicted ants. But it was Hardy's *kindness* to God—his genuine affection for the departed deity—that aroused indignation in the religious: belligerent atheism is always more tolerable than condescension, because the sin of pride is so much stronger in the latter.

*Whence came it we were tempted to create
One whom we can no longer keep alive?*

is the question asked in "God's Funeral"; and in "By the Earth's Corpse," God is made to suffer sincerely from the dreadful guilt of having done such a poor job on humanity. In "Good Friday," the poet suggests that the day be set apart to mourn *all* the noble spirits who thought they were the Son of God and ended on the Cross—but there is no *scorn* in such suggestions. Scorn is reserved precisely for the Higher Criticism—for the progressive clergy, who deny all that is traditional in religion:

*Since thus they hint, nor turn a hair
All churchgoing will I forswear,
And sit on Sundays in my chair,
And read that moderate man Voltaire,*

Such poems are no longer surprising, let alone shocking. If anything they convey the useful lesson that religions are not overthrown by atheists but by theologians who turn everything that has been factual and substantial in a religion into allegories and symbols. No, all Hardy's surprises and shocks come in his dealings with human beings—the tart way he suddenly brings them down to earth, the curious appeals he makes to them. An example of the first is the strange poem of the lady lying in her grave listening to someone digging into it—can it be a lover, a dear brother, some old enemy? No, it is

only her old dog, and his paws are not driven by pangs of loss and anguish:

*Mistress, I dug upon your grave
To bury a bone, in case
I should be hungry near this spot
When passing on my daily trot.
I am sorry, but I quite forgot
It was your resting-place.*

The fact that this is not really a very good poem only adds to the surprise one gets on reading it, and I feel the same pleasant discomfort in many minor poems of Hardy's. Mrs. Master's fuchsias, which were never cut back from the path until they had to be—to let her coffin pass; the lover who went back for the walking-stick he had left at his sweetheart's house but, seeing her through the window yelling at her mother, muttered: "At last I behold her soul undraped!"—and disappeared, still stickless but greatly relieved at having escaped.

These are only memorable "conceits"—sudden ideas popped into verse form. But the poem "Had You Wept" is not only very surprising but of a higher order altogether. I think there has never been another poem in which a woman was bitterly reproached for refusing to shed tears—"Why did you not make war on me with those who weep like rain?" Tears break down a man's resistance; they are a "gift" to woman and should be used in her battle with man: how else can he forgive her? This is *my* Hardy with a vengeance—such an absolutely true poem, so deeply felt, so peculiar in thought.

Hardy obtains many dramatic surprises from unexpected juxtaposing of things, e.g., "The Convergence of the Twain," where the *Titanic* is built in the shipyard while the iceberg grows three thousand miles away—"twin halves of one august event":

*And as the smart ship grew
In stature, grace, and hue,
In shadowy silent distance grew the Iceberg too.*

But "Ten Years Hence" provides a much subtler example in:

*And the trees are ten feet taller,
And the sunny spaces smaller*

—for what other poet has ever seen that the one line must follow from the other?

(3) HOME THOUGHTS. My final Hardy is my desert island disc—the Hardy I go to live abroad with. Shakespeare I know well enough to leave behind, and anyway, he has other fish to fry and so have I. But Hardy is absolutely essential in exile. Open him, and there's all England spread out like—well, like a book, I suppose:

*Toadsmeat is mangy, frosted, and sere
Apples in grass
Crunch as we pass*

and crunching on frozen windfalls at a safe distance is definitely the best way to crunch. When I read of

*The sweet sharp sense of a fugitive day
Fetched back from its thickening shroud of grey*

I know only too well how fugitive that day is and how grey its shroud—and how delighted I am not to be buried in it. I know exactly what it is like when “drops on gate-bars hang in a row,/ And rooks in families homeward go”—and I wish them well, those rooks; they need it. “The first fire since the summer is lit, and is smoking into the room”—yes, I can warrant that; and outside there’s “Only the smoke without flame/From the heaps of couch-grass” and “the fallow ploughland turned up nigh/In raw rolls, clammy and clogging.”

It is all too true for words—or rather, it is all so true that it is best experienced in words. Give me a nice hot country and Hardy’s *Collected Poems* and I can never feel homesick; at most, I am prepared to drop a fugitive crocodile tear on some particularly dank page. I feel deep personal gratitude to Hardy for sticking it out year after year in England simply to give me the happiness of being his remittance man. And I am sure that that is the way he wanted it: though his poem to the Mediterranean opens with one of his most glorious lines—“O, epic-famed, god-haunted Central Sea!”—it goes on to make disapproving, insular noises about the ignoble way the Italians hang out their washing:

*And thereacross waved fishwives’ high-hung
smocks,
Chrome kerchiefs, scarlet hose, darned under-
frocks;
Often since when my dreams of thee, O Queen,
that frippery mocks:*

—a perfectly frightful last line that only Hardy could have written without screaming.

YES, SO MANY Hardys—and how well Hardy knew it! In “So Various,” he himself gives us exactly a dozen Hardys—nervous, steady, faithful, fickle, foolish, wise, glum, happy, slow, speedy, negligible, revengeful. He concludes:

*Now... all these specimens of man,
So various in their pith and plan,
Curious to say
Were one man. Yea,
I was all they.*

Which is the point I am struggling to make.

Nefastus Dies

ASPECTS OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY:

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MODERN BRITAIN

Edited by

J B Mays and M Craft

A new series which offers an analysis of our contemporary society through the study of basic demographic, ideological and structural features and of some of its major institutions.

Coming shortly:

THE MIDDLE CLASS

John Raynor

An up-to-date overview of the English middle class which pays particular attention to the last fifty years, and assesses the impact of the new middle class on the political system.

cased 21s, paper 10s 6d

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

G Jones

An introductory survey of the political system of modern Britain which explores the social factors which influence politics, determine voting behaviour and affect the careers of politicians at both national and local levels.

cased 21s, paper 10s 6d

Already published

POPULATION

R K Kelsall

cased 21s, paper 10s 6d

ADOLESCENCE

C S Smith

cased 21s, paper 10s 6d

THE WORKING CLASS

G Rose

cased 21s, paper 12s 6d



Longmans

THEATRE

Plays or Psycho-dramas?

The Super-Ego is Out — By JOHN WEIGHTMAN

THE THEATRE AT THE MOMENT is enjoying a period of saturnalia. Obscenity, scatology, nudity, transvestism, perversions and hysteria are the order of the day. The same mild, middle-aged people seem to be sitting in the stalls, eating chocolates and imbibing alcohol and coffee in the intervals, but what they see and hear must be quite unprecedented in the history of the English drama; even Restoration comedy did not go so far. And since they accept it all without a qualm, we must conclude that it comes well within their experience or imagination. What is happening, I suppose, is that the theatre, like the cinema and some other art forms, is now belching up all those things that have always existed but were formerly suppressed, because they were thought to be inimical to civilisation. The Id is having a holiday—an indefinite one, maybe—at the expense of the Super-Ego, because the Super-Ego itself now believes that the Id is entitled to its fling. Perhaps we could call this the ultimate democratisation of the human personality. The Super-Ego has abdicated its central position of authority and the different parts of our make-up are clamouring with separate voices, so much so, indeed, that incipient schizophrenia is almost as widespread as the common cold.

I am prompted to make this remark by the fact that, of the various plays I have seen during the last few weeks, only one—Mart Crowley's *The Boys in the Band*, imported from New York—could be called “normal,” although all nine characters in it are homosexual. I mean that it is an enjoyable, old-fashioned play, governed by a single, presiding view-point and with a beginning, a middle, and an end. Its only peculiarity or boldness is that it deals with the emotional entanglements of male homosexuals, as the traditional “well-made” play dealt with heterosexual love and the family. Since by definition homosexuals cannot create a family,

they tend to live to some extent in groups, which reproduce an echo-pattern of the polarities and emotional tensions of the family. In this play, the “boys,” each confessing his dilemma in turn, even express themselves in rather elaborate, theatrical prose, and the obscene phrases with which their conversation is peppered appear to be no more than conventional signs of intimacy. How honest this play really is I cannot say. I heard the author declare on television that it is not about homosexuality but about the human condition, which is manifestly untrue. At times, I suspected that it was perhaps slightly arranged for the heterosexual public, as a Jewish play might be for Gentiles, or a Negro play for Whites. In spite of the in-jokes and *mots d'auteur* (e.g., “There's one thing to be said for masturbation, one doesn't need to look one's best”), the message is reassuringly “normal”: homosexuals are hopelessly anguished, insubstantial, twilight figures, always at a tangent to reality, and thus, we may assume, rightly called fairies.

THE OTHER PLAYS I am thinking of hardly recognise the concept of reality, even when they purport to have some application to the modern world. Alan Bennett's *Forty Years On* is a bitter-sweet cavalcade of English memories; Peter Barnes' *The Ruling Class* centres on the old theme of the decline and fall of the aristocracy; Joe Orton's *What The Butler Saw* is a farce about sex and the ludicrousness of psychiatry, and Edward Albee's *A Delicate Balance* is presumably a comment on the decadence of American middle-class society. Yet although they appear to be based on value-judgments about modern civilisation or the lack of it, and indeed to be strongly critical of contemporary life, they deal with it neither literally nor figuratively. In other words, they are neither naturalistic nor symbolic, but range from apparently

direct statement to the wildest and most gratuitous fantasy. This puzzles me, because the literal statements sometimes contradict the fantasy, and the fantasy itself may have internal contradictions. For this reason, I am tempted to call them psycho-dramas rather than plays. They enact various odd perceptions or impulses dramatically, without bothering to maintain any line of development or consistency of point of view. They are collocations of bits and pieces, intellectual and emotional flotsam and jetsam. Perhaps, in the contemporary situation, this is what plays have to be, but if so, it is a pity.

All four works have received rapturous notices from some critics, so presumably the good bits in each of them help to put over the rest. All I can say is that I got little satisfaction from any of them, even from *Forty Years On*, although I am as prejudiced in Alan Bennett's favour as I am instinctively mistrustful of Edward Albee's rhetoric. I go on being obtusely convinced that there are different modes of apprehension, and that they cannot be mixed just any old how. For instance, one can either be naturalistic or symbolic, but if one wants to be both at the same time, then the relationships between the two modes need to be properly managed.

In a programme note introducing *The Ruling Class*, Mr. Peter Barnes condemns "the deadly servitude of naturalism" and advocates "the dramatic reality" of "a comic theatre of conflicting moods and opposites where everything is simultaneously tragic and ridiculous." I can see how the Theatre of the Absurd, if misunderstood, may lead to the belief that naturalism should be replaced by irrational juxtapositions, but I cannot quite understand what Mr. Barnes is up to. He sets his action in a stately home, where the 13th earl, who is also a judge (has there ever been a hereditary peer who was also a judge?) takes his pleasure of an evening by hanging himself from the canopy of his bed, while wearing a *tutu*. He is about to remarry in order to replace his dead sons, who have perished in outposts of Empire. However, instead of giving himself a pleasurable erection, to be followed by a restorative whisky and soda, he slips off his step-ladder and hangs himself *pour de bon*. His loony surviving son inherits and arrives from a mental home in a Franciscan habit and convinced he is the God of Love. Whereupon many old jokes about madmen who think they are God. The family gangs up against him and, having married him off to a compliant chorus-girl so that he can have a son to carry on the line, propose to lock him up for good. He turns into the God of Vengeance or Jack the Ripper, and slits the bellies of his wife and sister-in-law.

New from Phaidon

The Paintings of Rembrandt

Abraham Bredius's famous catalogue is one of the key works of modern Rembrandt scholarship. This new edition has been revised by **Dr. H. Gerson**, and provides up-to-date opinions on all paintings in any way in question. 612 pp., 608 illus., 56 reference illus. £5 10s

Phaidon Colour Plate series

Goya

Enriqueta Harris Brings out the many moods of this great artist, from the gaiety and tenderness of the Tapestry Cartoons to the mysterious ferocity of the late Black Paintings. Relates his art to the turbulent background of Spain in the throes of war and revolution. 50 colour plates. 32s 6d

Rembrandt

Michael Kitson Concentrates on the remarkable scope and range of Rembrandt's painting. Will be of particular interest in this tercentenary year of his death. 50 colour plates. 32s 6d

Phaidon Paperbacks

The Art of the West

Henri Focillon The first English translation of the profoundly stimulating French text on medieval art.

Vol. I Romanesque Art 24s

Vol. II Gothic Art 27s 6d

Italian Baroque Painting

Ellis Waterhouse An introduction to Italian painting of the 17th century—from Caravaggio to Carlo Maratta. 27s 6d

Phaidon Press Ltd • 5 Cromwell Place • SW7

WYNDHAM LEWIS

An Anthology of his Prose

Edited with an introduction by
E. W. F. Tomlin

Wyndham Lewis's literary output was immense, and he achieved mastery in a variety of *genres*—as novelist, poet, philosopher, sociologist, travel writer, literary and art critic, and not least as pamphleteer and polemicist in a tradition now virtually extinct. It has long been felt that an anthology of his prose writings, especially those difficult of access, should be issued, and E. W. F. Tomlin, a friend of Lewis of long standing, has endeavoured to compile a representative volume which, preserving the best passages from books out of print, will at the same time provide continuity of interest. His project had the approval of Lewis himself. 80s

THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL NATION

An Economic History of Britain,
1700–1914

Professor Mathias assesses the rewards and penalties of Britain's position as the pioneer industrial nation, and employs a wide range of comparisons to describe the rhythm of change during the 150 years that saw Britain become by far the world's greatest industrial power. A superb textbook for the student of economic history.

Hardback 60s University Paperback 28s

To be published May 8th

THE COMPASS OF IRONY

D. C. Muecke

This study of the nature of irony has a dual purpose: first, to offer a general account of the formal qualities of irony and a classification of the more familiar kinds, and second, to review its more recent forms, functions, topics and cultural significance. Both parts are supported by examples drawn from a wide range of authors, with special reference to Musil, Diderot, Schlegel and Thomas Mann. 45s

METHUEN

A lot of the scenes depend on the convention that aristocrats are decadent, ruthless, and still in charge of England. At the same time, we are clearly meant to sympathise with the dotty 14th earl, whose schizophrenia has connections with the contingency sickness of so many Absurd heroes. But the whole thing is just a farrago of nonsense which falls between several stools. Judging by fragments of the dialogue, I should say that Mr. Barnes could write quite a good play on the tragi-comedy of schizophrenia, but why he mixes up the theme with all the anti-feudal stuff is a mystery. His skit on the House of Lords as a mouldering collection of corpses is as wide of the mark as if it had been written by a hack propagandist in Moscow. Almost the only thing I remember with pleasure from the show was a charming little review sketch about a courtship by means of bird-calls.

FORTY YEARS ON is a series of review-sketches, purporting to be the annual dramatic performance at a symbolic public school called Albion House, whose worried traditionalist headmaster is retiring and will be replaced by a faceless new man. It is a strangely mild and muddled view of England's recent past, interspersed with some baffling lapses in taste. I am not referring to the fact that the smooth-faced schoolboys sing what appears to be a traditional song about arseholes. This is part of the valid process of showing that public schools breed essentially the same kind of obscene collective attitudes as borstal institutions or prisons (*cf.* Lindsay Anderson's really excellent film, *If*). I recently had the opportunity of reading John Addington Symonds' unpublished autobiography and I was startled to find that Harrow in the 1850s, in respect of tyrannical barbarism and sexual enslavement, was scarcely distinguishable from the penal institutions described by Jean Genet. Perhaps, after all, it was a quality of the old English public schools that they introduced their pupils to all forms of sordidness and evil at an early age, so that they were as well educated in the horrors of life as slum children, delinquents, and prostitutes. I am thinking rather of a totally unjustified skit on Virginia Woolf, which made me wince with embarrassment, and of a puzzling satire on T. E. Lawrence, delivered by the retiring headmaster, who would have been the very person to have a great admiration for the repressed and mixed-up hero. I couldn't see what Alan Bennett, any more than Peter Barnes, was up to. I gathered that he has a love/hatred of England and that this show is a sort of dirge, but where his centre of gravity is, and what relationship he really

sees between the past, the present, and the future, I again couldn't guess.

HERE IS ANOTHER puzzle: Frank Marcus, whose *Sister George* I much admired, has declared in the press that Joe Orton's *What The Butler Saw* is a new classic. Now my opinion is that Orton wrote one good play—*Entertaining Mr. Sloane*—which was given a superlative performance on television by Sheila Hancock and Edward Woodward. *Loot* (which won him the *Evening Standard* Award) was much less good, and *What The Butler Saw* is still more inferior. It is a laborious farce, in which any device is used to get a momentary laugh, and it has no structure at all. Sir Ralph Richardson plays the part of an asinine psychiatrist, who misinterprets everything that happens in accordance with psycho-analytical theory and in a way that might have appeared funny twenty-five years ago, but is now quite threadbare. Moreover, a farce is normally built on the assumption that the characters have a conventional reason for concealing their behaviour from one another. Stanley Baxter, as the randy (yet impotent?) husband, goes to great lengths to hide his peccadilloes from his wife—but what need is there to do so, when she is a self-confessed nymphomaniac, alcoholic, and Lesbian, who proclaims the failure of their marriage? There is surely no point in maintaining the paraphernalia of farce, if you don't accept the conventions of bourgeois respectability on which it is based. Towards the end, there is a slight suggestion that Orton may have started from, or incidentally conceived, the idea of producing a play that would be a derisive illustration of the Freudian pattern of father/daughter, mother/son incest, but, if so, he doesn't work out the theme properly, because one cannot tell whether he is accepting Freudianism or making fun of it. Again we are faced with a jumble, not a work of art, and many of the obscene jokes are not knitted into the fabric at all.

A DELICATE BALANCE is a very different case, since Albee pays great attention to what one might call the external patterning of his dialogue, which even has a Jamesian elaboration. The problem is to know what, if anything, he is saying about American society or about life in general. There is a predatory mother and an ineffectual father, a maladjusted daughter who has left her third husband, a loud-mouthed alcoholic sister sponging on the household, and a married couple who come to stay, having been driven out of their own home by a nameless fear. Is this fear caused by the prospect of death, the nausea of the Absurd, or the emptiness of their relationship? The episode is not naturalistically motivated, although it is treated as a naturalistic problem: are the couple to be accepted into the household as old friends, or not? Father writhes in an agony of doubt, trying to do the virtuous thing; daughter screams her head off because the couple have been given her room; sister (played in Lesbian style but with no admitted Lesbian characteristics) acts as chorus and comic relief, commenting on the action with the cynical wisdom of one who has known the lower depths. But surely, the whole thing is just saying fee-fi-fo-fum about life in a *chichi* way, without ever coming openly to grips with any problem. Marriage is a failure, some girls never grow up, others take to drink, anonymous fears haunt the prosperous suburbs—these are modern clichés, which are being juxtaposed in a falsely knowing manner without being freshly perceived or rethought.

I recently heard Mr. Albee say that his plays are written by his subconscious, but I wonder if this too is not a fashionable concession to the view that the Super-Ego is out, or even a more-unconscious-than-thou kind of boast. The Super-Ego wants to have its productive team of hidden monsters, just as saints used to have their voices. Frankly, I prefer the genuine philistinism of *The Boys in the Band*.

Aspects of English Education

The L.S.E. Story

By Michael Beloff

*Here we sit in a branchy row,
Thinking of beautiful things we know;
Dreaming of deeds that we mean to do,
All complete, in a minute or two—
Something noble and grand and good,
Won by merely wishing we could.
Now we're going to—never mind,
Erethra, thy tail hangs down behind.*

RUDYARD KIPLING

Road-Song of the Bandar-Log (1895)

IF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION were to be ignited by students, the London School of Economics would be an admirable base. It lies like a tumour in the fat body of the capital city. Stepping left the guerrillas could storm the Law Courts, the ancient agencies of "repressive tolerance"; chase the moneymakers from the

Temple; plunder Fleet Street and the "bourgeois press"; sally up Ludgate Hill to invade St. Paul's, the established church, still administering, *pace* Canon Collins, a fix of the opium of the masses (or maybe in the modern idiom "the people's pot"); then forward to the Stock Exchange, the Bank of England, and the estate of the shrines of capitalism. Just to the right lies the Strand, from whose gateposts, in the time-honoured chorus, innumerable revisionist villains will be suspended "when the Red Revolution comes"; down with Horatio and up with Fidel in Trafalgar Square (renamed Potemkin Plaza); via Whitehall to Westminster—out with Black Rod, in with Black Dwarf—strangling the last M.P. with the entrails of the last civil servant. With any luck the State will wither away before term's over, and, comrade, has your grant come through yet?

No doubt the militants of the L.S.E. see themselves as the tinder to proletarian fuel. When the School was closed on 24 January 1969 they issued a statement: "We regard the strong crackdown of the authorities on L.S.E. students as part of a general crackdown on militant students and workers throughout the country during the present crisis of British capitalism." When it reopened, a pamphlet urging "the im-

MICHAEL BELOFF graduated from Magdalen, Oxford, where he read history and law, and was President of the Union (1962). He teaches law at Trinity, Oxford. His latest book, *The Plateglass Universities*, was published by Secker & Warburg last year. His previous articles on various aspects of the university crisis appeared in *ENCOUNTER* for May and October 1968.

mediate occupation of the L.S.E. on the anti-capitalist programme" made its appeal "to the working class." And answer came there none. As I kept pace with the thick column of marchers up the Fleet on their inaugural protest after the closure, I was forcibly struck by their utter isolation. Londoners scurried home in the dusk with hardly a single sideways glance. This was apart from, not a part of their lives, a circus not a liberating army. If what has happened at L.S.E. has wide social implications, it is only because universities themselves are important in society.

SEEN IN ITS CORRECT PERSPECTIVE, however, L.S.E. is significant, and commands attention less because of a fanciful future than its palpable present. The sit-in in March 1967 was the storming of the Bastille of the English student revolution, not least because its aim was also to liberate the victims of the *ancien régime*. Chroniclers have appreciated the decisiveness of the moment. "For the first time British students showed collective solidarity in their role as students";¹ the affair had a "seminal, precipitating influence."² "Let us have one, two, three LSEs." Moreover the agitation has continued for three academic years; it has exploded like a fuse, not a firecracker. It is an endless serial, a lack of foresight saga, with the main characters, Dr. Walter Adams and David Adelstein, inspiring among onlookers the same kind of loyalty and enmity as Galworthy's Soames and Irene.

The L.S.E. has been a general headquarters for the native movement. It witnessed the formation of the Radical Student Alliance in January 1967, and of its more extreme successor the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation in June 1968, at whose baptism the *élite* of the international militants served as fairy godmothers through the good offices of the British Broadcasting Corporation. L.S.E.'s flying squad travels the country; its soldiers were at Essex, Hornsey, Bristol. In the thick of the Birmingham upheavals in Michaelmas 1968 was Richard Atkinson, a lecturer freshly fledged from L.S.E.

that summer. Once the breeding ground of nationalist leaders in the Third World, L.S.E. now spawns student leaders on the British campus.

THE MAIN EPISODES of the internal conflict have been various in character and intensity. From its earliest days until recently there were few student troubles at L.S.E. While Sir William (later Lord) Beveridge was Director from 1919 to 1937 there were only *two* cases of indiscipline which merited his attention, one (prophetically) when six or seven students led by a "very red politician" from America in breach of his diktat sold a paper called the *Student Vanguard* in the school.³ After World War II the story was the same. It was only in his Director's Report for 1965-6 that Sir Sidney Caine noticed a growing malaise among the student body.

At the start of the next academic year members of the Socialist Society, stimulated by an article in *Private Eye*, launched a campaign against the appointment—as Caine's successor—of Dr. Walter Adams, then head of the University of Salisbury, Rhodesia: the main charge was that he was soft on racialism. At the end of October the President of the Students Union, David Adelstein, wrote to *The Times* about the appointment in defiance of Caine's refusal to allow him to use the school's address. While disciplinary action was pending against him, a large number of students boycotted lectures and demonstrated. In the end no penalty was imposed.

In January 1967 a meeting of students was called in the name of the Graduate Students Association to discuss the appointment. Permission to use the Old Theatre of the school was withdrawn when it was discovered that the discussion of direct action to prevent Dr. Adams from taking up his post was on the agenda. Nevertheless, following a vote, a number of students broke into the theatre, pushing past the porters who guarded the doors, and in the course of the *mêlée*, one porter died of a heart attack. The subsequent suspension of Adelstein and Marshall Bloom, President of the Graduate body, led to a week-long sit-in, the "Caine Mutiny," in which at times as many as 600 out of the 3,000 students took part. The suspensions were ultimately placed in abeyance.

There followed a period of calm. Then in May 1968 the students staged a one-night sit-in

¹ G. Stedman Jones, *Student Power*, p. 45.

² A. Hatch, *Anarchy and Culture*, p. 120; and cf. Cockburn and B. Brewster, "Revolt at L.S.E." *New Left Review* (No. 41).

³ Beveridge, *The London School of Economics and its Problems*, p. 45 (1960).

Students & Revolution

DESPITE ALL THE SIT-INS, sit-downs, and occupations, four out of five British students are glad to be at the universities which selected them. And three out of four are satisfied with their lives as students.

These disclosures—the other side of the frequent picture of brawling, cat-calling troubles—are made in a survey by National Opinion Polls. It is clearly shown that although students do have genuinely-felt grievances about the running of their colleges, the great majority want these settled by peaceful negotiation.

A minority are prepared to support "revolutionary" leaders in demonstrating for such far-out aims as the overthrow of Britain's present social and political structure.

NOP made its survey among a representative sample of students from four old-established universities, three redbricks, and two new universities.

THESE ARE SOME of their basic findings about all students:

Only 30% have actually taken part in any demonstration, ranging from a simple protest march to more aggressive sit-ins and strikes. More than one-half believe that they have too little say in the administration of their universities. Three out of four think they ought to be consulted about what aspects of their subjects they should study. Nearly seven out of ten do not believe that examinations are the only fair way of evaluating their abilities. They want greater weight given to the quality of term-time work they produce for their tutors.

60% think that present relationships between teachers and students are satisfactory. And 75% commend their tutors as "helpful."

STUDENTS WERE ASKED:

On the whole, are you glad you came to this university or not?

ANSWERS (in percentages)	ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Yes	85	84	90
No	12	13	8
Don't know	3	3	2

In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with life as a student?

	ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Satisfied	78	77	83
Dissatisfied	19	21	14
Don't know	3	2	3

Students who said that they were dissatisfied were asked to give their reasons. These received the highest votes:

REASON

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS

Criticism of study courses ..	26
Financial Problems ..	16
Not enough freedom ..	12
Social problems ..	11
Too much hard work ..	11

Even though most students believe in negotiation to settle internal university grievances, they are prepared to demonstrate if negotiation fails.

They were asked first:

If the students had a grievance to do with the running of the university, which one of the following courses of action do you think would be most effective in getting the desired result?

	ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Negotiation	61	57	71
Committee of inquiry ..	22	23	20
Arbitration	6	7	3
Sit-in or demonstration ..	11	13	6

They were then asked:

In general, do you agree or disagree with demonstrations to express dissatisfaction with the running of the university?

	ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Agree	64	63	64
Disagree	34	34	35
Don't know	2	3	1

Only 41% of students believe in demonstrating as a gesture of opposition to society—the kind of aim put forward by such organisations as the Socialist Society, at the London School of Economics, for example. But this is clearly still a large enough minority to worry university administrators.

ON THE WHOLE, NOP finds a greater tendency towards interest in extreme political demonstrations among students from better-off families. Students from less-well-off homes—sons of skilled craftsmen and manual workers—are generally more concerned with basic "trade union" issues, like greater student-participation in university affairs.

And NOP confirms the belief that general unrest is more predominant among arts than science students. And with the arts students it is especially notable among those studying social sciences—subjects such as economics and sociology.

Overall the important implication of this NOP survey, based on interviews made between February 10 and February 12, is this: If current negotiations over increased student-participation succeed in the universities the causes of much of the current unrest could finally be removed.

Report of THE NATIONAL OPINION POLLS, LTD., in the DAILY MAIL (London)

in the school's entrance hall to show "solidarity" with their Parisian counterparts. In October over the period of the celebrated Viet Nam demonstration there was a further week-end occupation with parts of the school converted into a "hospital and sanctuary for the marchers." In December, before the Oration by Professor Trevor-Roper, the Socialist Society invaded the seats reserved for visiting dignitaries, and festooned the platform while the guest speaker delivered himself of a brilliant lecture, including remarks on the dangers of a new fascism.⁴ He was afterwards questioned about his views on Greek politics in an unscheduled part of the programme.

At the start of the new term, on the occasion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, the militants demanded that the L.S.E. should publish a list of its investments in Rhodesia and South Africa, and that the governors should divest themselves of directorships in companies with interests in these areas or resign. Later, in the course of the same protest, the Senior Common room was occupied.

At a subsequent meeting, addressed by Lord Robbins, the issue of the internal gates which had been set up in the wake of the October Occupation suddenly came to the fore, prompted by a question from a porter about whether or not their presence infringed the fire regulations. For a week votes in the union on the student policy towards them veered backwards and forwards, but finally on Friday, 24 January, came (to quote *The Black Dwarf*) "the glorious moment when, with sledgehammers, pickaxes and crowbars, we went from one gate to another and removed them painlessly, efficiently and by mass action..." The School was closed until 19 February: the weeks in the wilderness were filled with marches, motions, and even an occupation of University College, London, terminated by counter-revolutionaries in the shape of one Rucker club, but on reopening, after a further brief 24-hour occupation, some wall-daubing, and various other protests against the inception of disciplinary

procedures, internal, criminal and civil, against the alleged culprits, the term ended without significant activity.

THUS NARRATIVE, now explanation. The conditions postulated by disciples of the conventional wisdom as necessary for student troubles are all unambiguously present at L.S.E. The study of social science is the main ingredient of the curriculum. The architecture of the student body is not that of a pyramid tapering to a graduate summit, but a two-storey building with graduates (*circa* 1300) almost as numerous as undergraduates (*circa* 1700). Finally there are, as there have always been, a high number of overseas students. In his report of 1966-7 Caine wrote

Much the most striking change has been the rise in the number of American students, predominantly post-graduate (over 100 between 1965-6 and 1966-7). ... It is reasonable to doubt whether this strong American influence is on balance good for the school (p. 7).

Of the thirteen students originally banned by injunction from entering the school without the director's permission after the '69 closure three were Americans; and Bloom, another American, played an important part in the 1967 eruption.

The rapid growth of the student population in the 1960s, aggravated in 1966-7, the first year of disorders, by an exceptional number of re-admissions, taxed L.S.E. to its limits, and maybe beyond them. Lord Robbins, expansionist pioneer of the Report that bears his name, sowed the whirlwind for Lord Robbins, chairman of the Board of Governors. This has been an ever-present problem of the school. It troubled Beveridge; it re-emerged after the wartime evacuation to Cambridge; it was appreciated by Caine, and it alarms Adams.⁵ L.S.E. is squeezed into a tiny area on the flanks of Houghton Street which winds, sinuous and cloacal, between Aldwych and Lincoln's Inn Fields. The academics' studies are cramped; there are none for students; the library, which has long since abandoned an open-shelf policy, is overflowing, and is taunted by the plate-glassed paper-backed frontage of The Economist Bookshop on the other side of the road. There is no space for residential accommodation, and apart from Passfield Hall, Carr-Saunders Hall and a few converted houses the students have to wander far afield into suburbia (as do their teachers),

⁴ A student pamphlet, *Oration or Discussion?*, said in advance that it [*History, Past and Present*] was "a topic which bears no real relation to the issues that face us." No doubt the author failed to appreciate the unconscious irony.

⁵ See D. C. Watt, "Expansionism at the London School of Economics," p. 32, *Fight for Education* (1969), on the disastrous story of the current decade.

making this, when no occupations are in progress, a 9-to-5 Monday-to-Friday College. The student areas of the building are similarly crammed to capacity, and the Three Tuns Bar, centre of social life, has a feral, claustrophobic atmosphere at lunch-time and the early evening. The Clements Inn passage site, whose buildings will relieve congestion, is still under construction, and the space commonly available in the school has actually lessened because of the necessary demolition. The cost of land in the centre of London is of course enormous, making it expensive to expand.

Communications between senior and junior members of this society have necessarily worsened. Older teachers hark back nostalgically to the intimacy of pre-war years. The last formal research into student grievances on the eve of the disturbances showed that "the majority of complaints arose out of academic relationships—the arrangement of teaching, access to tutors, etc." (*Caine Report*, 1966-7, p. 15). And D. C. Watt has described the social cost of increased departmentalisation and the accretion of a research staff uninvolved in the task of teaching.

YET I AM DOUBTFUL that this is the real reason for the L.S.E. disorders. The conditions of life may be a *causa sine qua non*, but they not not a *causa causans*. These kinds of issues have not been a source of controversy between staff and students; indeed they are a source of consensus. Moreover the rebels cannot hope (even if they aim) to solve them. The reverse is true. The School is on the verge of an appeal for funds for a new library. It is no secret that recent events have made it an unpropitious time to launch such an appeal, nor, in the wider context, that a taxpayers' backlash could put in jeopardy plans for the school, already frustrated by national economic troubles. Student concern for these prosaic but vital matters has not made itself heard over the militants' clamour. Even in 1967 Caine could write: "It has been typical too that in the recent past representations made on behalf of the Student Union were comparatively little concerned with general conditions in the school, but much more with the facilities and privileges of the Students Union as such." And in December of that year when staff-student negotiations were faltering for lack of student negotiators

the editorial of *Beaver*, the student newspaper, commented,

The sad truth seems to be that while members of this college are prepared to strike, sit in, and criticise the action of its own executive and of the school authorities, they are not prepared to get on with the hard work of finding solutions to the very real problems that exist in the college.

Another orthodox view is that the student body wishes to participate more in the administration of the school, both as a means to improvement of various aspects of its life, and as an end in itself, to reflect a new status in the academic community. But moves to democratise the machinery of government were already under way in 1966. Furthermore in the wake of the 1967 occupation a joint staff-student machinery of government committee was set up, whose final recommendations included student membership of the three main governing bodies of the school. This was rejected not only by the Academic Board, but also by the Students Union. In October 1968 still more radical proposals by the authorities were not even considered fully by a Union meeting, devoted instead to the forthcoming Viet Nam demonstration. *Ad hoc* reforms have placed students on six committees since the start of 1968-9, and in his letter to the exiles during the February closure Dr. Adams offered membership of the Court of Governors, the Building and Library Committees, and eight committees of the Academic Board—including the General Purposes committee—together with consultation on matters of curricula, teaching methods and examinations. It was like tempting a tiger to return to its cage with a packet of water biscuits. One of the most surprising features of the L.S.E. story is how marginal has been the change in the organisation of the School compared with the general trend in institutions of higher education in the country. Two out of nine places on the Passfield Hall Sub-Committee is not much to show for some two-and-a-half years of conflict.

The School Authorities have made a variety of efforts to improve the quality of student life. A Dean of Undergraduate Studies was appointed in 1967-8. Each student has been assigned a tutor for consultation on his general academic programme. There is a flourishing health service with psychiatric treatment available; also an employment officer. Loans and grants can be obtained in the case of economic difficulties. Talking to the militants one feels

that all this well-intentioned activity is an irrelevance. The Revolution will not be postponed by the provision of a Welfare State.

FOR THE MILITANTS representation is inadequate; for the moderates (still a majority) it is presumably uninteresting. Indeed for the former that it is offered at all is an insult, for in the words of one: "Rights are not offered—they exist." Parity of authority is the aim.⁶ Some of their pamphlets, can speak of "Worker, Student, Teacher Control," although, without examining the precise nature of the contribution that the cleaning staff might make to a graduate syllabus in econometrics, one can confidently say that they have shown no inclination to make any. "Porter Power" is a pipe-dream. But if the content of the demands is variable, their presentation is not. Any concession to a stated demand is rejected by enlarging the demand itself: for example, that Governors be barred from the premises. "What do we want? Everything! When do we want it? Now!

It is not fanciful to conclude that the pace-makers among the student militants actually prefer conflict to cooperation, an attitude quite explicable in terms of their basic theory.

The Students at L.S.E. must see their struggle as part of this world fight of the students for control of their educational system, as part of the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, and to end all authoritarian and bureaucratic régimes. It is not a struggle just for academic demands, but the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle in the student field. (From: *For the Immediate Occupation of the L.S.E. on the Anti-Capitalist Programme.*)

This is not the sort of aim susceptible of satisfaction by a staff-student liaison committee.

Academic demands, of course, feature as well.

"We are getting fed up with irrelevant rubbish and bourgeois ideology." (From: *Take Down*

⁶ According to one student the staff are in fact intellectually converted to this scheme. The author of a minority note to the machinery of government report, he wrote: "Non-Student members of that committee admitted in private that the 'students won all the arguments hands down,' that 'they succeeded in educating the rest of the committee in a variety of ways. But when it came to decision, to voting, these and other members of the committee decided not on the merit of the arguments, but with reference to what can only be called a certain type of authority.'" R. Atkinson, *Students Today* (Young Fabian Pamphlet, 1968), p. 8.

Education Paperbacks

Society and Education in England Since 1800

P. W. Musgrave

'Professor Musgrave has taken the history of education beyond the realms of political and administrative narrative and related it to the dynamics of society.'

History Today
12s 6d (hardback 25s)

Readings in Education

W. Kenneth Richmond

'A stimulating collection of key extracts on key educational topics. . . . The method certainly shows the student working on his own how to look at a passage critically and has the merits of a good programmed learning course.'

Times Literary Supplement
25s (hardback 50s)

To be published in Paperback May 8th

The Teaching Revolution

W. Kenneth Richmond

'Mr. Richmond is always a stimulating writer and this book is no exception. . . . He has read widely and got together the facts over the field in such a way that they can be comprehended as a whole by the reader who is prepared to work seriously through this book.'

Scottish Educational Journal
18s (hardback 36s)

Just published

Student Protest

Edited by G. F. McGuigan

A series of articles by students, student leaders and a psychologist which examine the causes, aims and results of recent demonstrations.

Methuen Publications, Canada
45s

To be published June 12th

The Education Industry

W. Kenneth Richmond

A study which views the educational process as an industrial process and demonstrates the need for cost-benefit analysis and the application of modern management techniques in the educational services.

40s

METHUEN

Those Gates by Negotiation or We Will Do it With our Bare Hands.)

It is, however, quite possible to study Marx at L.S.E.; writers here, unlike in the countries favoured as models for Utopia by the militants, may be prescribed, but are not proscribed. Or

"This Assembly rejects the idea that academic freedom means that academic staff have the right to teach and do research into any subjects whatsoever regardless of the consequences with responsibility to no one in such activities" (*Motion for General Assembly, 22 January 1969*).

A sympathetic motion if it were directed at the medical research of Nazi surgeons, but not if it is aimed, as other experience might suggest, at Professor Alan Day's suggestion that a mild degree of unemployment may be necessary for an expanding economy!⁷ The demands for selection of teachers and control of curricula cannot be isolated from the enthusiasm shown for a "cultural revolution." It is not the inexperience but the motives of the militants that should be scrutinised.⁸

THE WHOLE EXTREMIST MOVEMENT at L.S.E. has only been loosely concerned with the purposes and functions of a university as at present conceived. Events have fallen into the by now familiar pattern: political demonstration or activity carried out by methods unacceptable to the existing university authorities; than a wider demonstration against the attempted exercise by those authorities of their existing powers. The Adams affair and the attack on the school's investment policies were really about Rhodesia; the Trevor-Roper episode was about Greece; the incidents contemporaneous with the May Revolution in Paris and the Viet Nam demonstration in London speak for themselves. Even the "Gates" were converted by rhetorical alchemy into a potent political symbol rather than a practical measure

⁷ See "Ideology and More at L.S.E." (*The Guardian*, 27 January 1969).

⁸ Though they would doubtless hate to hear it, the militants are in the tradition of G. B. Shaw and Ramsay MacDonald in believing that L.S.E. should be a politically partisan academy (see Janet Beveridge, *An Epic of Clare Market*, pp. 26-8 (1960); Caine, *The Foundation of L.S.E.*, pp. 45-7) (1963).

⁹ As one L.S.E. pamphlet put it: "Creative vandalism can postpone the eve of destruction! Wreck something today!..."

to segregate various parts of the unwieldy complex of the school buildings. In tearing down the gates, said Nicholas Bateson (the psychology lecturer who is a leading Marxist ally of the student militants), they had all acted "in solidarity with the heroic liberation fighters of Viet Nam and Zimbabwe." At such moments the politics of confrontation become the politics of hallucination.

THE TACTICS used by the L.S.E. militants were more comprehensive than elsewhere in England, though, to the connoisseur of such matters, essentially derivative: the files stolen from the room of the Dean of Undergraduate Studies (Columbia, Birmingham); the damage to a painting in the common room (Sorbonne); the spreading of obscenities about the Staff (Berkeley, Sussex); the interruption of ideologically unacceptable speakers; the graffiti, often insensitive and tasteless, e.g., BeLSEn. The sit-ins of course were prolonged and effective, aided by the physical lay-out of the school, and the closure of the school, nationally-speaking, a unique achievement.

There is something toxic in the veins of L.S.E., which explains the persistence of the crisis. Moderate student leaders have been ostracised; staff "hawks" openly menaced and abused. The publication of lists of teachers alleged to have informed on their pupils ("Super-Spies") raised the temperature; Lord Robbins said in his affidavit in the injunction proceedings that he feared "reprisals." Visitors to Connaught House (the administration H.Q.) had in recent weeks to submit to scrutiny through a spyhole, answer questions as to their credentials, slip in solo, and be faced with an array of porters who, in my case, apologised for the "cloak-and-dagger stuff." This would all seem faintly amusing were it not for the foreign experience of bombs and bullets. The L.S.E. Union in January and February 1967 passed a motion unanimously ruling out the use of violence to achieve their ends in the future. During the recent period of lock-out a motion that incorporated a similar sentiment could not even win bare majority support. Is the hour of the creative vandals⁹ at hand? The waves recoil, but each time they break a little further up the beach.

THE MOST REVEALING ASPECT of the militant campaign is exposed by the literature

thrown up by their free press, for it undermines any belief that the whole movement is an expression, albeit an exaggerated one, of an admirable idealism. This is not just a question of such vapid slogans as the L.S.E. is a "breeding ground of social imperialism and social fascism," but of the specific attacks launched on individuals. The campaign sprouted from poisoned soil. Adams, who had sacrificed his own scholastic career to help the academic victims of Hitlerian persecution, was an odd target for veiled allegations of racialism (see *LSE's New Director*, Agitator Publication, 1966). Nor was the case for the prosecution aided when of the authors of the two documents from which the pamphlet was stitched together, one denied that he had given permission to publish (Louis Blom-Cooper, *The Times*, 24 October 1966), and the other, Sir Robert Birley, actually wrote "Dr. Adams' work in founding the College has been one of the few constructive pieces of work on behalf of multi-racialism during recent years on the continent of Africa" (*The Times*, 4 November 1966). In a recent pamphlet all inhibition is cast away and Dr. Adams is described as a "true friend of Smith and Vorster."

Charges of racialism are not merely launched against the living. The late director of L.S.E., Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, was said to believe that "black people were innately inferior," a grotesque inversion of the truth. Lord Robbins was "winner of the Best Lie of the Year award"; British Petroleum, of which he is a director, is pumping oil to Rhodesia through a pipeline and from a refinery which vanished two years ago. Professor Trevor-Roper had written "Nazism was not undemocratic": doubtless the isolation of this dictum was intended to convince the illiterate that he was a Nazi sympathiser—again the choice of the defamed could hardly have been less apt. Even the complaint about the running of the school was ignorant, since the Governors, described as possessed of "arbitrary and illegitimate powers" in fact exercise *less* authority than almost any other lay body with responsibility for universities in the country. And certain of the American agitators took a deal of persuading to give up the view that the root cause of the corruption of L.S.E. was "control by the alumni." Such criticism passed beyond the boundaries of argument into the territory of mendacious and malicious propaganda.

WILEY

PUBLISHERS

CONTINUING EDUCATION IN ACTION: RESIDENTIAL CENTERS FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

by **Harold J. Alford**, *University of Minnesota*
and the Kellogg Foundation

A guide to the establishment of Centres for Continuing Education designed to expedite university-oriented education for adults. The book presents the origins of adult education and then focuses upon the facilities, programming and the use of such centres.

153 pages 56s.

EDUCATION AND URBAN RENAISSANCE

by **Roald F. Campbell and Lucy Ann Marx**,
both at the *University of Chicago* and
Raphael O. Nystrand, *The Ohio State University*

A collection of papers and related discussions on the problems of education in an urban environment and the possible effects of recent United States' legislation on these problems.

148 pages 53s.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: THE CASE OF SWEDEN

by **Torsten Husen and Gunnar Boalt**

This book attempts to give a survey of the major research endeavours in the behavioural sciences which in one way or another have been related to the changes which have taken place in Swedish education since the middle of the 1940's. It is therefore also an attempt to investigate the relationship between educational research and educational change.

233 pages 108s.

Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm, and John Wiley & Sons, New York.

(Distributed in the United Kingdom by John Wiley & Sons Ltd.)

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC THOUGHT

by **George F. Kneller**, *University of California, Los Angeles.*

Designed for basic courses in education. Relates the various aspects of economics to the concerns of education. Part 1 develops the history of economic thought from its beginnings in Plato and Aquinas through the classical economists to Marx, Schumpeter, Marshall, Veblen and Keynes. A section discusses Communism and Fascism. Part 2 deals with present concerns of economics in the field of education in such areas as educational efficiency, costs of education, education in underdeveloped economies and the teaching of economics.

139 pages 47s. cloth 27s. paper

JOHN WILEY & SONS LTD

BAFFINS LANE · CHICHESTER · SUSSEX

WHAT, THEN, IS THE SUPPORT for the militants? Are there "only thirty," the number cited by Education Minister Edward Short in 1969? Here it is important to discriminate between the two aspects—the protest proper and the protest against the punishment of the protesters. There is no doubt that there has always been a massive reinforcement to the Socialist Society core of ideologues when the affair passes from its first to its second phases.

The most significant fact about the Socialist Society strategy has been their manipulation of the Students Union. The politicisation of the Union in summer 1966 was a precondition for the subsequent outburst. Once the Union became a forum for wide-ranging debate the militants took good care to cloak their activities in an aura of legitimacy. Everything that has happened at the L.S.E. by way of direct action and the like has been sanctioned by "a popular vote." This has put a premium on attendance; further, if initially a vote went against the militant plan, it would be re-taken. The procedures of the Union allowed for the calling of a general assembly at the request of 30 students; and for an endless series of votes on any issue. Thus "the vote to occupy" over the Viet Nam Demo weekend reversed a previous decision not to do so taken the day before. The same happened over the decision to pull down the gates. This process of democratic attrition ensured militant victory. The moderates had other things to do than play revolution day after day, and the criticism voiced against them that they were passive victims of militant disruption is misconceived. In the same way the militants were able to force the resignation or virtual retirement of such able leaders as Peter Watherston and Colin Crouch, and leave a power vacuum in the centre of L.S.E. student affairs. The hard core were, of course, covered both ways. As the *Creative Vandalism* pamphlet put it:

The Question must now become, not "What do the majority of students (embryo people-eaters) think?" but "What can we do, as a majority or minority, to smash authority and capitalism?" Talk on the first question has become a major diversion from real action, and as such is reactionary.

The General Will is not necessarily housed in the ballot-box.

¹⁰ Colin Crouch, "The Chiliastic Urge," in *Survey*, October 1968.

The result is that the militants who even now (to judge by union election results, the fairest test) do not number above 500–600 students, have dominated a union comprising over 3,000. For the decisions, whether taken on a snap or a repeated vote, bind not merely those present but those absent as well. Hence on every occasion from the sending of the anti-Adams letter to *The Times* onwards the leaders could rightly claim that they had been "mandated by the student body," and deserved their protection. Hence, too, the constant talk of "victimisation." The punishment of a few is unjust when the responsibility is that of the many. After the re-opening of the school in February this issue generated the residual protest. The militants took the orthodox line, the moderates argued that the closure of the school had itself been a general punishment which wiped the slate clean.

In addition there was a "kith and kin" appeal for "tribal loyalty," as Colin Crouch has called it. Even where specific acts could be pinned on individuals they were immune from exposure. Students who, as members of society, might feel it a civic duty to turn Queen's evidence, would not turn Director's evidence as members of a university. The militants promoted the philosophy of Stokely Carmichael and demanded the loyalty of Stalky & Co. While the injunctions forbade certain students to come on to the school premises without Director's permission, they were actually able to speak at a Union Meeting and thus be in contempt of court without fear of detection. Discipline rests on the consent of the disciplinable, and in a real sense the consequence of the student attitude is that no writ can run on the campus.

NOR SHOULD ONE UNDERESTIMATE the force of the sheer excitement of communal action, of the fusion achieved by the rhythmic chants "*Free, free, LSE! Take it from the bourgeoisie!*" —the logically suicidal chorus of these *fil du papa*, or by the shared vigils. One student has written how the sit-in became transformed from a means to an end in itself:

As a form of participative activity which broke down "structures" and created its own forms of experience, occupying the "whole man," it was not so much part of a sojourn in the wilderness as a trailer for the promised land itself... People spoke of the "community" that had been created during the "sit-in"; they valued the concrete nature of the immediacy of the experience.¹⁰

This sense of solidarity (evidenced elsewhere by the sympathetic outbursts in universities up and down the country in March 1967 and February 1969, presaging the militants' dream—The General Sit-In) is reinforced by outside criticism. The Minister of Education's Parliamentary philippic served only to win new allies for the cause. "*We are Academic Thugs!*", "*We are Only Thirty Militants!*" (echoing the Parisian "*Nous sommes tous les juifs allemands*" and the Viet Nam protesters, "*We are All Foreign Scum!*") New words to old rhythms: *Us is Us* and *Them is Them* and never the twain shall meet.

The militants have similarly been able to play on divisions among the staff. Three alone, Bateson, Harris and Robin Blackburn, are their unequivocal allies, and were in the event subject to internal disciplinary proceedings. Indeed the ideological gap between such a charismatic figure of the Left of the early 1960s as Dr. Ralph Miliband and the current student generation speaks volumes, or at least mimeographed pamphlets, about the pace of change of radical campus ideology. However, once again the familiar distinction between support for what the militants say or do, and support for their total freedom to say or do it, was responsible for the formation of identifiable groups.¹¹ The Law Faculty were surprisingly "Doves" (Wederburn, Griffith, Zander, Thornberry, Leigh); "Sparrow Hawks"¹² included such well-known figures as Morris, the criminologist, Cranston, the political philosopher, Roberts, the professor of industrial relations, and Day, the economist. The main issues of division were the validity of the original suspensions of Adelstein and Bloom in 1967;¹³ the recommendations of the General Purposes committee in January 1969 for maintaining internal discipline which included the reporting by staff of misbehaviour of individual students and the possible use of force to counter disorder; and the terms for re-opening the school in February 1969 which threatened renewed closure and withdrawal of grants. The way in

¹¹ Contrast "The Gates at L.S.E.," by Professor J. R. Griffith (*New Statesman*, 4 February 1969), with the same writer's criticism of the proposed disciplinary code for the school (*The Guardian*, 22 January 1969).

¹² See John Sparrow, "Revolt Students" (*The Listener*, 4 July 1968).

¹³ Julius Gould, "Politics and the Academy," in *Government and Opposition* (Winter 1968), pp. 34-5.

Forthcoming this summer:

**The Pavillion Series:
Social Anthropology**

1. Stratagems and Spoils

F. G. BAILEY

The book is about political competition. The author seeks to discover some general principles of political manoeuvre which hold good in any culture and in any context, and which can serve as the tools of research in a wide range of different situations.

63I 11770 9

Cloth 36s. net

63I 11760 1

Paper 18s. net

2. New Heaven, New Earth

KENELM BURRIDGE

The author ranges widely through the fields of millenarian activities and shows convincingly that behind the bizarre actions can be discerned men in the crucifixion of uncertainty, men searching for perfection, for understanding, for human integrity, for redemption.

63I 11960 4

Cloth 30s. net

63I 11950 7

Paper 15s. net

**The Sociological
Interpretation of Religion**

ROLAND ROBERTSON

Original conceptions are offered on such important themes as the definition of religion in the context of modern controversies; the present characteristics of religious organizations; types of relationship between church and state; the nature of religious symbols; and the forms and directions of secularization.

63I 09870 4

Cloth about 36s. net

63I 09860 7

Paper about 18s. net

Now available:

Headship in the 1970s

Edited by BRYAN ALLEN

with a preface by SIR EDWARD BOYLE

The onset of comprehensive re-organization requires a totally new approach to the problems of running a large school. University teachers consider the concepts that will form the basis of the new approach, and experienced headmasters provide illustrations of particular problems likely to arise.

63I 11750 4

38s. net

BASIL BLACKWELL

which the General Purposes Committee proposals (a confidential document) found their way into the hands of the press itself shows how the normal conventions had been eroded. Of a staff of 300, 55 voted against the proposals, and 34 against the terms for re-opening the school.

The result of the student revolt has been to force academics to deploy a range of skills as diplomats, judges, and even policemen, that have not previously been considered necessary qualification for the profession. It is not therefore surprising that, among other things, confusion and mutual suspicion run riot.

THESE INTERNAL CONFLICTS are reflected in an inconsistent policy. The authorities have adopted a strategy of *sauter pour mieux reculer*. Adelstein's sending of the original letter to *The Times* was forgiven as "an error of judgment made in good faith." After the March sit-in in 1967, the Disciplinary Board suspended the two leaders till the end of the summer term; the Standing Committee of the Board of Governors remitted a month of the sentence; and after a statement issued by the then Secretary of the School, Harry Kidd, on 19 March that "The decision of the Standing Committee on the suspension of Mr. Adelstein and Mr. Bloom will stand. They never have been and will not be a matter for negotiation," on 15 April the Governors lifted the suspension entirely on receiving certain "apologies and assurances." The sitters-in themselves had their original suspension commuted to fines.

The same pattern continued in 1968. Over the Viet Nam weekend Dr. Adams declared that the school was "formally closed"; physically it remained open. The gates, only one of whose functions was to protect the school against unauthorised occupation, in the event provoked the very disorders that they were designed to prevent, and proved their inadequacy for that purpose. (The "cage doors" and "iron anti-student gates" in the emotive language of the militant press were small and feeble grilles which a casual visitor finds hard to locate.)

The imposition of discipline was made difficult not only for the reasons previously outlined but also because of the skills of those threatened with sanctions in turning the law to their own advantage. The militants would accept its protection, but not its punishment:

a new breed of "barricade" lawyers was born. The law relating to conspiracy and trespass, the scope of injunctions, the boundaries of the operation of "natural justice"—all have been painstakingly analysed in this new context. The crisis exposed the rustiness of the internal disciplinary machinery, unused since before the War, and the inability of the school rules (designed in happier times) to stand up to close legal scrutiny. Evidently the militants did not desire the martyrs' crown, and they were apt to recant their revolutionary prophecies when it suited them and even compare themselves (favourably) with rowing rowdies. It was as incongruous as if Joan of Arc took a point on the judge's rules. One could perpetually anticipate a looking-glass result; something happened, no one did it.

THE VACATION has come; the guerrillas have gone home. But there is no reason to think that the campaign of the militants is at an end. Yet when one surveys the whole history up to now, the impression left is one of its hopeless irrelevance. Capitalism has not been overthrown. The School has not been improved. The reputation of the L.S.E. has suffered, costing it both financial support and, though conclusions must be tentative, a fall in the number of applications. Everyone's time has been wasted; staff, who wished to devote it to their tranquil pupils, bitterly resent the long hours spent on negotiating committees.

It seems that it is the minority interest (the students of working-class origin, and those from the developing countries) who have suffered most from the activities of middle-class colleagues: again though, definite conclusion as to the militants' background must await the judgment of sociologists. The only victory of the militants has been to save their comrades from punishment for activities that have done the causes they espouse no good at all. If one had to choose a military analogy—and in student affairs the metaphors of industry have yielded to the metaphors of battle—one would choose the first World War. It is a long slog with heavy casualties on both sides but with little doubt as to the ultimate victor. There is here none of the romance of the Paris barricades; none of the anguish of what is happening across America; none of the explosive generational bitterness of post-Hitler Germany; none of the heroism of

Prague or Madrid. Only the fact that Fleet Street is nearby, and Thames Television next door can have created the illusion that this is a creative conflict of public philosophies.

The irony is that it should be L.S.E. that is thus troubled, for it was uniquely created to promote social change. This was the purpose the Webbs had in mind. In the first recorded mention of the plans for L.S.E. Beatrice Webb wrote in her *Diary*:

We want the ordinary citizen to feel that reforming society is no light matter and must be undertaken by experts specially trained for the purpose.

Economics, politics, sociology have been the school's prime concerns. Its sense of involvement in practical problems was reflected in its long history of mature and part-time students and in its special courses (for Army Officers between 1907 and 1932 or, after the war, for those who were to join the civil services of the newly-independent nations). Its staff has been distinguished by its radical accents from the days of R. H. Tawney and Harold Laski to the days of Titmuss and Wedderburn. In the first post-war Labour Government, the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary of State for India were former L.S.E. lecturers; and its alumni have included John Kennedy, Pierre Trudeau and Jomo Kenyatta. The L.S.E. tradition comprised the advancement of human welfare through the application of knowledge and the deployment of reason.¹⁴ The doctrines were those of the Blue Book, not the Red Book.

L.S.E. is a particular, not a paradigmatic example of the British student power movement. But it is clear from what has happened here that the motives and methods of the militants, who have been throughout the pace-makers and moulders of events, are different from and divorced from those of the unthinking liberals who so tolerantly give benediction to their activities. L.S.E.'s history represents reform; the militant students represent, however absurdly, "revolution." These are two different concepts of change and progress, and they are incompatible, not interconnected.

¹⁴ "Only in this path of scientific study lies any hope of remedying social evils or relieving individual misery." (Sidney Webb to Mrs. Bernard Shaw, 26 January 1899, quoted by Caine, *op. cit.*, p. 95).

Encounter

PAMPHLET SERIES

1. **Edward Shils (Ed.):** *Problems of Afro-Asian New States*
Out of Print
2. **Richard Lowenthal:** *The Points of the Compass*
2s. 6d. (35 cents)
3. **John Strachey:** *The Strangled Cry*
2s. 6d. (35 cents)
4. **C. A. R. Crosland:** *The Future of the Left*
Out of Print
5. **John Strachey:** *The Great Awakening* 3s. 6d. (50 cents)
6. **Theodore Draper:** *Castro's Communism* 1s. 6d. (20 cents)
7. **Marcus Cunliffe & Melvin J. Lasky:** *America and Europe*
2s. 6d. (35 cents)
8. **Rita Hinden:** *Africa and Democracy* 2s. 0d. (30 cents)
9. **Khrushchev on Culture:** *The text of his speech on March 8th, 1963* 3s. 6d. (50 cents)
10. **John Strachey:** *The Challenge of Democracy* 4s. 6d. (60 cents)
11. **Raymond Aron:** *The Epoch of Universal Technology*
3s. 6d. (50 cents)
12. **Sidney Hook:** *Marxism in the the Western World*
3s. 6d. (50 cents)

All the above pamphlets are "originals" except Nos. 2, 4 and 7, which consist of material republished from ENCOUNTER

Add 6d. (6 cents) per copy for postage

ENCOUNTER 25 HAYMARKET LONDON SW1

How to Fail Without Really Trying

By Stuart Maclure

BOTH THESE BOOKS,¹ in their different ways, are a reminder of an unpalatable truth. In most countries—and this certainly includes Britain—the only thing which prevents the educational system from going bankrupt is its sheer inefficiency.

The British educational system only keeps going as it does—with proud terminal standards and good levels of staffing—because half the population obligingly contracts out of secondary education at the half-way mark, and six out of seven never present themselves for higher education. It must be a Minister of Education's nightmare that suddenly standards of educational inspiration will be transformed and the teachers will succeed in implanting the will to complete the course in a whole generation instead of only in a minority; that all that human potential which, now, for a variety of social and pedagogic reasons is never released, will come to fruition; and that, confronted by an army of drop-outs who refuse to drop out, he will see the educational system collapse in a shambles before his eyes.

Lord Butler's essay—a lecture, blown up into a book together with some reference material about professional education—is a prosaic plea for more education all round, and particularly at the higher and professional level. His approach to the matter is in terms of national need. He sees mass education not simply as an expression of the good society but also in terms of economic growth and material progress. He makes the familiar contrast between the technological sophistication and managerial expertise of the Americans and the relative failure to harness education to national needs in Britain.

In Japan [he writes] where the rate of illiteracy is the lowest in the world, the formation of technicians and scientists is far more abundant than in either England or France. It is estimated that in five years' time thirty per cent of the total

labour force will possess a university degree. To make even a start in this country will entail a fundamental reappraisal of the role of universities and a radical change of heart in some of the older universities, where specialists and professionals as a whole are tolerated but have never been assimilated. At the present time, our educational system is too poor to mobilise the full resources of the country, and it has yet to be brought into line with our industrial requirements. If it is not, we shall find ourselves in a position similar to the Mycenaeans at the beginning of the Iron Age.

He emerges as a whole-hogging expansionist—unworried by murmurings of rebellion from conservative university quarters—even flirting with a Pippard-type proposal for two-year first degrees and enlarged graduate schools to provide a top dressing for some and to “preserve standards.”

Much of this is significant only because of the source from which it comes. There is a proprietary note in some of his general comments.

In 1944 we were well aware that education had to be widened and improved but since then little has been done because the controversies have not centred around the real problem, which is to bring the education system in line with the 1960s and 1970s, but instead have been obsessed with the reorganisation of secondary schools and a re-vamping of educational policy which seems sometimes to put more value on equality than on scholarship. It seems to me inevitable that the character of the universities will change; and there is no reason why it should not.

Here, perhaps, even from his cross-bench, the old party Adam is coming out. It is not true that “little has been done” and uncommonly difficult to square a whole-hearted commitment to mass education with the indefinite continuation of a selective system. Difficult as the transition is going to be, if you believe what Lord Butler believes about expansion at every level, logic points to removing gratuitous obstacles like the 11-plus.

Sir George Pickering, F.R.S., the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, is another who believes that the British educational system artificially restricts the supply of talent and mis-

STUART MACLURE has been an editor of Education since 1954; next month he returns to The Times Educational Supplement as Editor. He edited Educational Documents in England and Wales, 1816-1967 (Chapman & Hall, 1967) and, with T. E. Uiley, Documents on Modern Political Thought (Cambridge University Press, 1957).

¹ *The World Educational Crisis*. By PHILIP H. COOMBS. Oxford University Press, 51s. *The Responsibilities of Education*. By LORD BUTLER. Longmans, 30s.

uses what it does succeed in bringing to the surface. Lord Butler quotes him for the view that "the quality of education in the country is excellent, its form expresses no purpose." Mr. Coombs might well make the same comment about Lord Butler's book. Where the Master of Trinity is dilating on the needs of the economic community and the inadequacy of the system to meet those needs, Mr. Coombs is concerned about the world-wide attempts to match aspirations, resources and needs. His aim is to explore the educational system as a *system* and examine the inputs, the process, and the outputs in the light of social and economic aims. In doing this, he quickly shows that these are not necessarily in harmony: what people want is seldom what the country needs; and what the educational system is geared to produce is likely to be neither what the country needs nor what the people want.

The merit of the international approach—Mr. Coombs, who is a former Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs in the Kennedy administration, is director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning—is obvious enough. He has little difficulty in showing that educational spending has to advance faster than the growth of *GNP* in every country which is struggling to build up a modern education system. Developed countries in Europe like Britain have to spend faster than *GNP* grows because they are trying to move from an *élite* system to a mass system, which means each year providing a full education for a bigger percentage of the relevant age-groups. Developing countries have to increase spending heavily to maintain even the same modest degree of educational provision for a growing population. Planning for real progress means pre-empting massive slices of public spending for education, with or without extensive foreign aid.

IF MR. COOMBS IS RIGHT, the developed countries tend to slow up their rate of increase when education spending reaches about 6-7% of *GNP*. In the current arguments about an education budget in the United Kingdom (over 6% of *GNP*), people tend to speak as if what is happening is the result of some sudden, but temporary economic crisis. The fact that the rise is being cut back in two years from 6 or 7% in real terms to about 4% no doubt encourages this belief. But if there is a temporary crisis, it should not obscure the larger issue which is a continuing concern about the use of resources on the grand scale. This is a concern which will survive any short-term economic difficulty.

Mr. Coombs' systems approach turns out to be a good deal less helpful than he appears to hope. The objectives to which the systems are tied at



**ROUTLEDGE &
KEGAN PAUL**

Perspectives on Plowden*

R. S. PETERS "The authors argue that while the Plowden recommendations are acceptable "the report is theoretically not satisfactory and is far from appropriate to the needs of the time".—*New Society*

16s Paper 8s

The Sociology of Education*

D. F. SWIFT Presents a view of the educational process as a whole in relation to its society. Dr. Swift's frame of reference is sociological, and his discussion is centred on fundamental issues rather than description of the British educational system.

16s Paper 8s

Society and the Teacher's Role*

FRANK MUSGROVE & PHILIP H. TAYLOR One of the most crucial areas in education today is the role of the teacher in relation to society. This book investigates the tensions which can arise when the expectations of pupils, parents, headmasters and teachers themselves come into conflict.

21s May Publication

The Grammar School Tradition in a Comprehensive World

J. N. HEWITSON Proud of the past achievements of the grammar schools, and anxious that they should continue to play an important part in the future, J. N. Hewitson examines those parts of the grammar school tradition which he thinks must be carried over to and maintained in the new comprehensive schools, and suggests how this can be done.

28s June Publication

Inspection copies of books marked * are available to lecturers for adoption consideration. Please write to Routledge & Kegan Paul, Broadway House, Reading Road, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.

every level are multiple and often conflicting; they reflect the interests of different political parties, of different economic groups, of different educational traditions. Sometimes they express enthusiasms of individual politicians. The inputs include measurable material things alongside abstractions which defy enumeration. The process is open-ended; the inputs are part of the process and so are the outputs in a variety of confusing ways; at the same time as influencing its environment, the education system is a product of it. In the end, what emerges is not an administrative or managerial technique calculated to resolve the perennial dilemma, but some useful (if hardly original) suggestions on how to make the most effective use of limited resources.

THE ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE an international dimension is more effective in analysis than in prescription. Mr. Coombs has really very little to offer the developing countries except despair—where educational systems can only be maintained by faith, hope, and charity, a systems approach may be a positive inhibition.

But for a country like Britain, Mr. Coombs touches a good many nerves. For one thing, he challenges—and rightly—the almost universal assumption that we can build a mass system of education simply by providing generally what we now think of as normal standards for the few. He highlights the inertia of the system—its resistance to innovation, its resistance to technology and a technological approach to all,

not just some, of the resources for learning. The importance of this in Britain where, according to the *Task Ahead*, by 1971 education will employ a million professional and non-professional staff should be obvious. He shows clearly enough that innovation is needed at all levels—in the deployment of expensive staff and the use of buildings, and in the reform of the curriculum and teaching methods at each stage. One of the threads which runs through this and other arguments is the need to find ways of encouraging children and students to teach themselves—putting all the accent on learning instead of teaching—and the parallel need to overhaul the structure of the teaching professions and sub-professions so that productivity is promoted, not resisted, by vested professional interests. Like Lord Butler, he insists that the output of the system must correspond to the true demands of society, including the demands of the economy on whose buoyancy the education system is poised.

The trouble is that these are all challenges which are easier to utter than to take up. Mr. Coombs tells us more about our problems than about solving them. He does so, however, in lively if florid prose, and with a wealth of UNESCO-type statistical material, some of which may be accurate. Nothing in either his book or Lord Butler's suggests an early end to the inadequacy of the present education system which, in Britain, enables it to rub along on £2,100 million a year.

Jobs, and the Job of Education

By Richard Bourne

IF HIGHER EDUCATION had to be invented anew in this country only one thing would be certain: it would bear small resemblance to the pattern we now possess. There might be research and teaching institutions directly financed by particular industries—rather as the mediaeval church fathered faculties of philosophy, theology, and law. There might be much less emphasis on a three-year full-time first-degree course; bright youngsters might take a degree in two years; or a combination of part-time and sandwich study (a course in which col-

lege and work experience are interspersed) might lengthen such courses to six years or more; or the great majority of university students might attend for only one year, doing a twelve-month course in civics or technics. There might even be student loans, adjusted for the number of terms a student wished to attend an institution of higher education. These institutions would be specifically elitist or specifically open: they would either work to rigorous manpower requirements of employers, and the-devil-take-the-hindmost arts candidate, or they would welcome anyone who thought he could benefit from anything, and no more nonsense about extra-mural departments.

We all know that the charming chaos of current higher education cannot last. The students' (and teachers') revolt, Government pressure on costs, the creation of a new system of polytechnics in overt competition with the universi-

RICHARD BOURNE is the Educational Correspondent of *The Guardian*. His book on Political Leaders of Latin America is to be published by Penguin this autumn. He is 28, and was educated at Uppingham School and Brasenose College, Oxford.

ties, and even Miss Jennie Lee's cherished "Open University"—these are buffeting old notions beyond endurance. In this night of doubt and alarms, when British conventions of Governmental, local, and academic autonomy rule out Napoleonic reforms on the scale of M. Edgar Faure, one new book is of particular fascination: Eric Robinson's *The New Polytechnics*.¹ This is not just a descriptive work, it is a crusade; and if the polys are allowed the funds and personnel to become something more than a second-rate complement to universities Mr. Robinson's words may be writ large up and down the country.

His theses are several: that universities are dominated by an academic ideal and turn out graduates with little marketable competence in anything; that the structure of universities is dictated by the power of faculty professors and the goal of research; that the "boarding school" notion of a university is still presented as the paradigm of higher education although a major demand is for continuing part-time study; that in the new polytechnics the first priority must go to the needs of the students and, although he does not entirely reject the values of a liberal education, Mr. Robinson advocates that their need for a job must be born in mind through the sandwich principle and throughout the work of the poly. His sentences are stirring.

Nobody has yet suggested the slogan "higher education for all" and the reason for this is that nobody has yet dared to think of "careers for all." Our education system is based on the assumption that a few people will have interesting worthwhile careers and the remainder will merely have jobs or be unemployed. . . . Sooner or later this country must face a comprehensive reform of education beyond school—a reform which will bring higher education out of the ivory towers and make it available to all. This will be achieved through a bloodier battle than that for the comprehensive reform of secondary education.

His own position is ironic, for though he is the spokesman for colleges founded to develop technical and vocational education he is in fact head of the arts faculty at Enfield, and it has been the arts and social sciences that have provided the explosion in students on degree-level courses at the colleges. The whole movement has been exactly comparable to the experience of the universities; indeed the inability of the universities to take all suitable arts and social science candidates has enabled Enfield and others to pick and choose.

The technical colleges managed their big breakthrough into higher education, largely

¹ *The New Polytechnics*. By ERIC ROBINSON. Penguin, 6s.

PALL MALL

Students and Politics in the Developing Nations

Ed. DONALD K. EMMERSON

A history and analysis of student politics around the world. Of special relevance in a world where students have become one of the most active forces promoting change. 80s

Marxism and Beyond

On Historical Understanding and Individual Responsibility

LESZEK KOLAKOWSKI

'Elegant and witty scepticism . . . this brilliant book . . . philosophical density and logical sharpness.' *Times Saturday Review*.

'This well edited and well translated collection of his essays . . . reads well in English.' *Guardian*

With a penetrating introduction by Leopold Labedz. 40s

Roads to Power in Latin America

LUIS MERCIER VEGA

The author, editor of *Aportes*, examines the roles of the military, the students and the oligarchy in Latin America; the mechanisms and forms of power; and the factors which give rise to, and destroy, classes, regimes, and organisations. 45s

A New Foreign Policy for the United States

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

Professor Morgenthau re-examines the US relationships to their allies, to the Communist world, to the uncommitted third of the world, to nuclear power, and to themselves. *Published for the Council on Foreign Relations, USA.* 58s

For the latest catalogue write to the publishers, 5 Cromwell Place, London SW7.

without public notice, in the mid-50s, and although the Government's "binary policy" is riddled with holes it is impossible to imagine the universities "taking over" the polys in the future. In fact, for simple economic reasons it is possible that orthodox universities may adopt many of the part-time, all-year-round, sandwich-course practices developing in the polys. But although I go much of the way with Mr. Robinson—in particular, his use of the education system to engineer better jobs for its products seems plausible enough when one notes that improving skill requirements throughout society have marched hand in hand with secondary education for all—there are two areas he touches little, the theory and content of technical education.

How far can technical education equip someone for a job when technologies are changing so fast? Robert M. Hutchins, in *The Learning Society*,² argues that vocational education of this sort can be a blind alley, and that only broad principles of science and technology should be taught in educational institutes. (Dr. Hutchins is chiefly concerned with the "transvaluation of values"—the organised attempt to make the human race "more intelligent.") It depends on the definition of terms, but in my view all technical education should aspire to the potential condition of Engineering, the oldest technology in university curricula, inherently capable of providing both a lucid education and the practical equipment for a job.

Many things are wrong with Engineering education in Britain. It attracts too few girls, especially compared with the Soviet Union. (In Britain only one engineer in 500 is a woman.) Surveys have shown that a considerable proportion of graduates opt out of Engineering into general management or other fields. But Engineering remains the great humane technological study, the focus of a society using material artefacts for its own purposes. City University, which enables a student to take engineering with sociology, has grasped the point. For the complete engineer must decide why society needs something, then how, with what resources.

The problems of industrialisation and education are tackled at opposite ends by Professor G. H. Bantock in his thoughtful work, *Culture, Industrialisation and Education*,³ which deals

with the theoretical relationship between popular culture in modern industrial society and the education system, and in *Education for Industry*,⁴ an Oxford symposium on how further education should be integrated with industrial training.

Professor Bantock worries about the sloppy emotionalism and enormous force of popular culture. He is surely right in his contention that the approach of most British schools, in spite of the admonitions of the Newsom Report, does little to educate the emotions of the vast majority of teenagers. (When one remembers that the overwhelming majority leave school without even one O-level the fallacy of a system of education which gives top priority to examinations must be obvious.) To oppose the cultures of the average secondary school and pop music and advertising is easy enough; it is clear that though the school may monopolise the youngster's time the culture of non-school may monopolise his affections.

But to change this situation requires something more than a change of will among teachers at the secondary stage. It means, I think, a conscious effort to bridge the gap between schools and homes—the "community school" in which parents are involved in the school and users of its educational resources to the same extent as their children—and an effort to cross the generational gap between teachers and teenagers. "Pupil power" is either trite—for after all the Plowden Report recognised that primary school children should be "partners" in their own learning—or it is an empty derivative slogan. But every educator should recognise that the decadence of much pop culture might be stemmed if teenagers were encouraged to bring it into school, analyse it with each other and with their elders, and re-create it.

Education for Industry looks at the problem from the practical end. Youngsters leaving school need jobs. Industries need personnel who can do jobs of a wide range of skill. How does one put the two necessities together? In the course of a symposium that grapples with the major difficulties—from the national unwillingness to train girls to the re-training requirements of older workers—one of the best contributions (by Mr. John Wellens) describes the potential and defects of the Industrial Training Act's levy-grant system, something that has proved a stimulus but is not a panacea. One of the main troubles for the industrial training boards, as for putative rationalisers of higher education, is that manpower forecasting is such an uncertain art!

The New University, edited by John Lawlor,⁵ recalls the ideals that brought Sussex and the others into existence—the accent on multi-disciplinary work, hostility to the 9-to-5 univer-

² *The Learning Society*. By ROBERT M. HUTCHINS. Pall Mall Press, 30s.

³ *Culture, Industrialisation and Education*. By G. H. BANTOCK. Routledge, 16s.

⁴ *Education for Industry*. Edited by DONALD HUTCHINGS. Longman, 25s.

⁵ *The New University*. Edited by JOHN LAWLOR. Routledge, 25s.

sity, the sudden gaping demand for higher education. Yet it is symbolic of the rapid changes that have occurred in Britain and in education that the "New Universities"—which of course pre-date the transformation of former colleges of advanced technology—have now a period flavour. The perspective has changed so perceptibly that there is now as much degree-level work going on outside universities as in them and it is Government policy to push the major surge of demand for higher education in the 1970s through polys and other colleges rather than the universities.

WHICH BRINGS ONE BACK AGAIN to Eric Robinson. At a recent conference the principal of Enfield, Dr. G. S. Brosan, opined that where universities had a "monitoring" function in society, the polys ought to have a "matching" one. Others have said that whereas universities ought primarily to concern themselves with preparing research workers the polys should concentrate on training for work. But the actual development of institutions is almost bound to mess up such distinctions: whereas the technological universities are champions of sandwich courses and are proud of their vocational success there are already signs that the polys are starting to collect research work. In fact,

one of the great contributions of the polys (aided by the Council for National Academic Awards) may be the possibility they offer to research workers in industry to get advanced degrees on a cooperative basis.

One hopes that Dr. Brosan's "matching" theory is wrong: at least if it means the passive preparation of intellectual workers for current slots in the industrial process. For one of the tasks of the polys, as of Professor Bantock's schools, should be to understand and criticise the industrial society as we have it. Unlike the universities, perhaps, the polys should aim at maximum exposure to every aspect of industrial society. But they should never surrender their critical faculties. It should be they which propose new ways of solving industrial problems, which consider the social and human consequences of methods of production and economic growth. It should be they which remind management trainees that there are moral as well as economic consequences in the way a firm runs its labour policy.

If industrial society is lacking in soul, if economic and regional planners and bureaucrats seem to reach decisions in remoteness from ordinary people, the education system must take much of the blame. The polys will, if they do their job well, not only provide their graduates

TURNING POINTS IN HISTORY

A new and exciting approach to history, designed for the general reader as well as the university student

General Editor: PROFESSOR SIR DENIS BROGAN

The first four titles:

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA G. R. Crone

PLASSEY: THE FOUNDING OF AN EMPIRE Michael Edwardes

THE BLACK DEATH George Deaux

THE FOUNDING OF THE JESUITS Michael Foss

Illustrated 42s. each

THE BACKSTAIRS DRAGON

Elizabeth Hamilton

A life of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford

Illustrated 63s.

THE HISTORIANS OF GREECE AND ROME

Stephen Usher

A series of sparkling pen-portraits of the various Greek and Roman historians, the more obscure as well as the celebrated

42s.

Hamish Hamilton

with careers and change the nature of careers, but they can make the interaction of education and industry more fruitful than ever before.

In the 1970s higher education will look different altogether. The "Open University" will make it possible for anyone with access to a radio and TV set to participate in degree courses. The size and strength of the polys may sweep up very rapidly and (thanks to the local techs which may begin to look rather more like U.S. junior colleges, and thanks also to the expansion of sixth forms) the proportion of the age group getting some higher education will expand steadily. While the polys become mass institutions the universities we now have may become more of an élite than ever; their prime functions may be to provide the polys with staffs and coordinate their research.

The Difficulties of Getting the Message

By Brian Jackson

"WE SHOW in this book that in the population as a whole, as well as in the selective schools, the middle-class pupils have retained, almost intact their historic advantage over the manual working class."

In the sad, authoritative foreword to their new book,¹ Dr. Douglas and his colleagues remind us of the colossal waste of brilliant working-class children that showed up in the 1954 *Early Leaving* report, was confirmed even more extensively by the later *Crowther Report*, and focused in that startling statement in the 1963 Robbins Report about working-class students at university. Despite the myths of academics, and the euphoria of the TV and Sunday Supplement men, the statistical truth was that the proportion of working-class boys at university was no dif-

ferent in 1960 than in the period from the late 1920s to the post-war education boom. If anything, it was slightly worse. As to working-class girls, no one could say. No one had ever collected the data.

The Welfare State was a taxation subsidy for the middle-class. It was they who took the free grammar school places after the Butler Act of 1944; it was they who claimed the free prescriptions and hospital beds after Aneurin Bevan; and it was they who flooded the new universities of Sussex, Essex and York after Robbins. One begins to see—if only in part—how the Welfare State became the Affluent Society. And how it came about—at least from one of many angles—we deceived ourselves that we could luxuriate in *Concorde* or Colour TV (or the prodigal run from *Blue Streak* to *Polaris*) while we stunted, cast off, or blocked so many of our children. Or to put it in the crude, fashionable language of the moment, we ignored our basic national asset—the educated abilities of our people.

Dr. Douglas in his dry, unemotive, rather mathematical study, tracks it devastatingly. All the more so since he is a stranger to education. It was our good fortune that he took charge of a national survey of all children born in March 1946. His prime aim (and that of the Population Investigation Committee who originally sponsored the research) was the medical history of the children and the effectiveness of the health services. The first two books, taking the children from 0 to 5, were overwhelmingly dominated by such questions. But in his third (*The Home and School*), Dr. Douglas was pulled into charting the function of the schools, and that function—not to put too fine a point on it—was effectively to make the middle-class group brighter, and the working-class group (or, if you like, the majority of children) relatively more stupid when they left primary school than when their parents first handed them over to the care of the infant-school teacher. Our notion that the 1944 Act, plus the post-war boom, had opened up the education system, a threshold to a more equal society, was illusion.

In his new book Dr. Douglas covers the secondary-school years. On his unique, meticulously-researched sample, he reports that:

—nearly half of the very able children from unskilled or semi-skilled homes had dropped out of education before they were sixteen and a half;
—many, many thousands of such children, with the academic potential to be doctors, scientists, teachers, managers, were being steered on to building sites, portering, unskilled factory work,
—the wastage is colossal where 11-plus is still

BRIAN JACKSON is Director of the Advisory Centre for Education, and Director of the National Extension College (University of the Air). He is also a member of the English faculty at the University of Cambridge. Among his books are *Education and the Working Class* (Penguin, 1966) and *Working Class Community* (Routledge, 1968).

¹ *All Our Future*. By J. W. B. DOUGLAS, J. M. ROSS and H. R. SIMPSON. Peter Davies, 42s.

supreme, and access to grammar schools most difficult;

—that even if the parents are right behind the children, and all in favour of supporting the school and seeking educational opportunities, this is not normally sufficient to see the child through the deficient schools we provide.

OF COURSE THERE ARE MANY OTHER reasons, besides social class, why children do not realise their talents. Liam Hudson in his stylish book *Contrary Imaginations* distinguished between two kinds of schoolboy—not middle-class and working-class—but the Converger and the Diverger.

These differed not only in the bias of their mental abilities, but also in their choice between the arts and sciences, in their interests and attitudes, and in their expression of emotion. The converger excelled in the conventional intelligence test; specialised in physical science or classics; held conventional attitudes; pursued technical, mechanical interests in his spare time; and was emotionally inhibited. The diverger, by contrast, excelled at open-ended tests (tests, that is which do not have a simple right answer); specialised in arts or in biology; held unconventional attitudes; had interests which were connected in one way or another with people; and, emotionally speaking, was uninhibited.

Clearly the distinction between the two kinds of boy is one between “ideal types,” and needs a considerable amount of refining. As it stood at the end of his last book, there was still a temptation to regard the divergers as lovable and creative goodies and the convergers cold, mechanical baddies. But in these terms, of course, we are still all divergers at some times and to some degree, and convergers at others—or indeed simultaneously.

Dr. Hudson himself says this in other ways more than once; nevertheless I did feel he wrote *as if* there were indeed two kinds of boy, and that you could, to an appreciable extent, ticket them, as individuals, to one camp or the other. I could not myself see that this was quite the distinction to make, partly because of the kaleidoscopic multiplicity of human nature, partly because an advertising agent and Wm. Shakespeare would both come out as top Divergers.² His new book goes some way to meeting the first of these doubts, and explores in a free, playful way the relationship between Convergers, Divergers, and poles of Masculinity and Femininity, of yielding and resistance to Authority and of images of the arts man and science man. As a book, despite its considerable wit, charm and readability, it melts away in the

² *Frames of Mind*. By LIAM HUDSON. Methuen, 25s.

Psychologists in Education Services

The Report of a Working Party set up by the Secretary of State for Education and Science. It examines closely the appropriate duties, training and supply of educational psychologists and makes recommendations designed to improve the standard of help available to our young people. 45s. (49s. 6d.)

The Education of Deaf Children

The Possible Place of Finger Spelling and Signing

The report considers the place of finger spelling and signing in the education of the deaf and surveys practice in the UK in comparison with the USA, Russia, Denmark and other countries. Its conclusions summarise the immediate problems and their implications and describes fields where further research and investigation are required.

12s. 6d. (13s. 2d.)

Education and Training for Scientific and Technological Library and Information Work

Produced by the Post-Graduate School of Librarianship and Information Science of Sheffield University, this is a study of the form and content of education and training required for work in scientific and technological departments. It examines the types of knowledge needed to operate services and translate these requirements into terms of education and training for all levels of work.

7s. 6d. (8s.)

Enquiry into Student Progress 1968

This publication is the outcome of a survey undertaken in Great Britain for the University Grants Committee into the progress of undergraduate students who would normally be expected to qualify in the summer of 1966. Information is analysed by individual university, field of study, length of course, sex and home or overseas origin. For those leaving without obtaining a first degree, analyses of reasons and time of leaving are also provided.

27s. 6d. (28s. 4d.)

Prices in brackets include postage

Free lists of titles (please specify subject/s) are available from Her Majesty's Stationery Office, P6A (ENC), Atlantic House, Holborn Viaduct, London EC1

HMSO

Government publications can be purchased from the Government Bookshops in London (post orders to PO Box 569, SE1), Edinburgh, Cardiff, Belfast, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol, or through any bookseller

memory—even as page falls on page—because underneath there is little urgency, but a kind of academic foreplay with what one day will be Dr. Hudson's original contribution. Perhaps the main point that lingers is the plainest one:

In a highly competitive and stratified school, boys are saturated with convergent reassuring. They assume that this and the ability to get good examination marks are one and the same; and the more successful they are, the more perceptive about each other's powers of convergent reasoning they become. Conversely; the more successful they are, the less sensitive they are to each other's capacity to diverge.

In that, one can see the image of those working-class boys on Dr. Douglas' sample who survive only by focusing their minds downwards and so thread their way from 11-plus to Ph.D.—and in time (who knows?) become good second-line scientists, technologists, or mathematicians at Harwell, Porton Down, or the market research division of Unilever.

It is not easy to say how we can begin to open up the education system—"equal chances to be equal"—and at the same time nurture a finer and more energetic sense of purpose in living ("where does all your go go?"). We could, if we cared, get the material side right—better housing, adequate diet, decent schools, enough well-trained teachers. That by itself would be enormous contribution—though *Shelter*, the *Child Poverty Action Group*, and almost all the educational pressure groups remind us how far we are from achieving it. But as Professor Vernon shows in his measured, modest study,³ huge barriers would still remain. For one thing, the defensiveness of teachers and their resistance to change. For another, the very pith and style of language in which the child's intelligence matures. Professor Vernon reports his studies of deprived Indian, Eskimo, African, and Jamaican children—and internationalises what Basil Bernstein has shown in Britain—that the inadequacies of the mother tongue, whether that of a whole society or that of an underprivileged class, can in themselves be the most invisible but the most tenacious of barriers. To change the culture is to change the language.

A NUMBER OF AMERICAN EXPERIMENTS which attempt to do just that—with breathtaking energy and directness—are reported in Maya Pines' vivid, journalistic survey.⁴ She describes, at times unforgettably, American "pressure cooker" schools for 3- or 4-year-old Negro children: schools which are not content to let child-

ren paint, dance, sing, shovel sand—especially children lacking the "hidden curriculum" of the middle-class home. The emphasis is on cognitive skills, taught early, taught fast and taught hard. ("The first grade is hurtling towards that child like an express train.") Well, it may be that we are too uncritical about the concept and value of "play." And it probably is true that deprived children would gain from a more structured approach during nursery and infant years.

But much of this American zeal seemed basically barbaric to me. One of their most successful methods was *Verbal Bombardment*: perpetually-talking teachers directing a stream of questions and comments at the children throughout the day. They say it produced a dramatic growth in intelligence. One wonders, as always, what this "intelligence" was. And I, for one, only cheered up when one of the verbal bombardiers recalled "the kids came up to me and tried to close my mouth—I got the message."

The Educational Gap

By Tyrrell Burgess

I SUPPOSE IF Sir Robert Peel's father were alive today he would be greatly astonished at the progress of education. Peel's *Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, 1801*, enjoined factory-owners to provide adequate instruction in reading and writing during the first four years of a child's seven-year apprenticeship. The Act remained a dead letter. Today, of course, things are very different. Nearly three-quarters of all British children can read and write reasonably by the time they leave school. Half of them have had a full five years of secondary schooling. One in ten gets some form of full-time education after A level. Fewer than

TYRRELL BURGESS has been News Editor of the Times Educational Supplement and was the first Director of the Advisory Centre for Education. He later became Assistant Editor of New Society, and is now a Research Fellow at the London School of Economics. Among his books are *A Guide to English Schools* (Penguin, 1964) and, with R. Layard and P. Pant, *Manpower and Educational Development in India, 1961-1968* (Oliver & Boyd, 1968).

³ *Intelligence and Cultural Environment*. By PHILIP VERNON. Methuen, 45s.

⁴ *Revolution in Learning*. By MAYA PINES. Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 35s.

one child in seven is taught today in buildings put up before Disraeli bought the Suez Canal. As the Secretary of State for Education and Science said on television the other night, if you put things in perspective you can see that great strides have been made.

What is more, these things have not happened by chance. The extension of education to all classes in the nation has been the urgent determination of Governments since Lord Grey's administration. Mr. Forster, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Fisher and Mr. Butler laboured manfully, and the chances are that they will have a successor in the next administration: we are due for another Great Education Act. Again the land will ring with calls for the extension of opportunity, the end of deprivation and disadvantage, the uplifting of the people through legislation. And few will pause to ask why the educational achievements of the last century or two, viewed from any other vantage point than that of Peel the elder, have been a failure.

There has been only one basic need: to create an educated people. The vision of a literate community seems old-fashioned now, but it was never more urgent. The task gets no easier; indeed the longer you leave it the harder it gets. The gap between the educated and the uneducated is widening, and no reform is worth the name which does not narrow it. Victorian phrases like the education of the working classes ring oddly now, because we have largely given up the attempt. But to every legislator, every educator who makes any new proposal, there is only one relevant question: what about the workers?

The answer from the past is deplorably familiar. Listen to J. W. B. Douglas: "We show in this book¹ that... the middle-class pupils have retained, almost intact, their historic advantage over the manual working class." Or Olive Banks' textbook:² "One of the dominant themes in educational reform in both the 19th and the 20th century has been the extension of educational opportunities to wider sections of the community. ... Increasingly, however, we have come to realise that the provision of formal equality does surprisingly little to eliminate educational privilege." Only that "surprisingly" is surprising. Then there is William Taylor:³ "A series of official reports and sociological enquiries have spelled out in great detail the lack of success we have had since 1944 in providing genuinely open access to higher education, and

¹ *All Our Future*. By J. W. B. DOUGLAS, J. M. ROSS and H. R. SIMPSON. Peter Davies, 42s.

² *The Sociology of Education*. By OLIVE BANKS. B. T. Batsford, 42s.

³ *Society and the Education of Teachers*. By WILLIAM TAYLOR. Faber and Faber, 50s.

The Foremost Educational Publishers—Pitman Publishing!

Books by John Holt

How Children Learn

A discerning and penetrating study of the way by which children learn and comprehend. It is a sensitive observation which will cause many to reevaluate their attitudes toward training and educating children. 25s net

How Children Fail

A bestseller, revealing the startling failure of children to develop their native capacity for learning and creating. "A perceptive account of the process of failure". 25s net

The New Education

R. J. W. Selleck

Towards the end of the nineteenth century English elementary education was radically changed as a result of the theories of the "New Education" movement. This book is a systematic study of the educational theories of this movement. It will be of great value to students of education, sociologists and social historians. 70s net

Educational Psychology

S. R. Laycock and B. C. Munro

A summary and critical appraisal of the current thinking of educational psychology students. The subjects covered range from the psychology of learning as applied to children and adolescents, to the teacher's role in helping the child to cope effectively with stress. 50s net

Examinations: Pass or Failure?

W. Bonney Rust and H. F. P. Harris

A small book setting out to explain how the present examination systems arose and how far they are effective in meeting the needs of educationalists, employers and examinees. 10/6 net

Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd.

The Pitman Publishing Group

a good deal of work is now being done to explain the mechanisms by which the family has succeeded in defeating these objectives." It's the poor, as usual, what gets the blame.

The process is venerable. In the early 19th century mechanics institutes were founded for the improvement of workers. They failed to offer what the workers wanted—practical instruction as well as theory—and declined into largely middle-class literary and philosophical societies. Between 1956 and 1966 ten colleges of advanced technology (many of which revered their own origins as mechanics institutes) were transformed from local authority technical colleges into technological universities. In the process their working-class students fell away. Today they largely serve the middle classes, like any other university.

Or take the history of "secondary education for all." This was an early slogan of the infant Labour Party; by the 1920s it had become an aspiration of official committees; in 1944 it was national policy. And we still do not have it. The reason is that after 1944 the Ministry of Education was allowed to invent different kinds of secondary education, one of which (the secondary modern kind) was secondary in name only. The failure was understandable: politicians could not secure the necessary resources

for genuine change; and educators quite simply lost their nerve.

THE CONSEQUENCES are clear. As Douglas found in what is arguably the only relevant educational research now progressing,

the social class differences in educational opportunity which were considerable at the primary school stage have increased at the secondary and extend now even to pupils of high ability. Thus nearly half the lower manual working-class pupils of high ability have left school before they are sixteen-and-a-half years.

What our secondary schools do is to legitimise social privilege. The advantages of the middle-class child are held to be acceptable when they can be translated into "ability" as measured by tests and teachers. (Incidentally, the public schools, which middle-class socialists fritter their adrenalin on, merely "illegitimise" social privilege. Abolishing them overnight would not weaken one jot the opportunities of the upper middle classes. One of the more amusing Douglas findings is that, allowing for class and ability, children in state schools do academically as well as *or better than* those in independent schools.)

The general failure of educational change continues. In January 1968 Britain had a Labour Government, and that Government was being urged to "make devaluation work" by cutting its expenditure. It did so. In education the bulk of the specific savings came through putting off raising the school-leaving age. Given the choice, the Cabinet decided—hesitatingly, half-heartedly—that if anyone was going to lose any education at their hands it was to be those most desperately in need of it. Ministers are of course doing their best by their consciences by talking about the "extra" money for school building in educational priority areas. Unfortunately the building programme for raising the age had already decimated the normal amount set aside for improvements. This was not put back when the leaving-age money disappeared, and it is not made up by the vaunted priority money. This combination of treachery and incompetence was not the only achievement of January 1968. At the same time, local authorities were forced, through the working of the rate-support grant, to keep spending within narrower bounds. It caused little surprise when the chief victims of this restriction were seen to be those deprived children whose remedial education depended upon part-time teachers no longer employed, and those part-time courses in technical colleges which serve largely working-class students.

Statesmen are not the only trouble. Teachers

C. S. Lewis

A MIND AWAKE

An Anthology
edited by
CLYDE S. KILBY

'A comprehensive reminder of the wit, understanding, courage, principles and prejudices of one of the great lay preachers of our time.'

—TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT 25s

—BLES—

are a bit of a problem too. Few of them actually want to teach the children of workers. Indeed the columns of educational journals are full of explanations why one should never raise the school-leaving age, because of the roughs who might thus be kept in school. This need not be too serious, since most teachers learn, in time, to adjust and cope. What is more serious is that most teachers quite literally do not know what they are doing. To those who might wonder whether this is an exaggeration, one has only to remark that William Taylor is a professor of education and a director of a university institute of education who has written a book called *Society and the Education of Teachers* which virtually ignores the social difficulties teachers face. The sentence quoted earlier is a very lonely one. Small wonder that it is entirely common to find teachers who do not know, let alone understand, the arguments for and against streaming by ability, who do not realise that there are objections to assuming that their own assessments of pupils are the last word on the subject.

Rosenthal and Jacobson⁴ have done what they can. They gave every child in an (American) elementary school a test which they described as one that would predict "intellectual blooming." Then they chose *at random* about 20% of each class as the experimental group. The teachers were given the names of this group, were told that these children had scored high on the test for intellectual blooming and would show remarkable gains in intellectual development. In reality the only difference between these children and their classmates was in the minds of their teachers. At the end of the school year the "bloomers" duly did better in further tests. One may be forgiven for assuming that there is a hefty clue here to the mechanisms by which middle-class children prosper at the hands of middle-class teachers.

On the other hand school teachers have been brightly aware and open-minded compared with their colleagues in the universities. The subtitle of *Anarchy and Culture*⁵ is "the problem of the contemporary university." And what is that problem? Is it that today the same proportion of university students as in 1928 are from working-class families? Is it that the universities have failed to imbue society at large with the values they cherish? Is it that the average university teacher can be generously said to produce 1.8 graduates a year? This figure is known as the Pratt ratio, after my colleague at

⁴ *Pygmalion in the Classroom*. By ROBERT ROSENTHAL and LENORE JACOBSON. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 38s.

⁵ *Anarchy and Culture*. Edited by DAVID MARTIN. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 35s.

The Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations

Volume 1: Trygve Lie (1946-1953)

edited by Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote

The first in a new series, this volume presents the important public papers of Tryve Lie's eight years in office, arranged in chronological order.

428 pages, 135s. net.

Literature in Brazil

by Afranio Coutinho

translated by Gregory L. Rabassa

This book, by Brazil's foremost literary critic, provides an essential background to the understanding of contemporary Brazilian literature.

400 pages, 90s. net.

Communism in China

by O. Edmund Clubb

The text of a confidential report on the Chinese Communist movement submitted by the author in 1932 when the author was vice-consul at Hankow. It is a historical document of considerable importance, containing primary source information that has since disappeared.

123 pages, 67s. 6d. net.

**Columbia
University Press**

70 Great Russell Street London WC1

L.S.E. who first formulated it. If *Anarchy and Culture* is to be believed, the problem of the contemporary university is that it has students. There are some decent fact-packed contributions from Halsey (on dons), Layard and King (on expansion), Rudd (on graduates) and Eustace (on university government) but they seem out of place among the rest.

The depressing conclusion to be drawn from all this is that social change is difficult. There

are no short-cuts. If the working-class child is handicapped by his home environment, it is the home environment we must change. It is odd how many educators can talk for half-an-hour about the critical importance of the home and conclude we need more nursery schools. But changing the home involves changing jobs, income, housing, health—even, in affluent Britain, adult literacy programmes—before you can hope to get good results from the schools.

Progressivism as a Reactionary Utopia

The “Counter-Cyclical” Trend — By C. B. Cox

“It isn’t nice having your bicycle stolen—however awfully healthy it is for the child to steal—and you have to be two people at once: one person who doesn’t like having his bicycle stolen, but the other one who is seeing that at that moment the child is feeling hopeful and is beginning to claim something. This provides tremendous problems of tolerance.”

WHO SAID THIS? A character from the third book of *Gulliver’s Travels*? From Peacock’s *Crotchet Castle*? No, the problem’s too easy, the jargon too obviously modern. It is a contemporary educational psychologist speaking in 1965 at a colloquy on progressive education at Dartington Hall.

Later on this Dr. Winnicott poses a fascinating problem. A group of deprived children can be said, he tells us:

1. To need a Progressive School;
and at the same time
2. To be most likely to break it up.

This is challenging, he says, but “it is important that this aspect of the progressive school work should be stated as clearly as possible, otherwise those responsible get disheartened,” and “there tends to follow a gradual change-over in the school towards being an ordinary school...” He has no other advice.

C. B. Cox is Professor of English at the University of Manchester and co-editor of *The Critical Quarterly*. Among his books are a study of liberalism in the novel, *The Free Spirit* (O.U.P., 1963) and (with A. E. Dyson) several volumes of poetry criticism.

Dr. Winnicott is my favourite character at the colloquy, which considered the relationship between independent progressive schools and the State system. The conversations are reported with a rambling commentary by Maurice Ash, in *Who Are The Progressives Now?*¹ The book ends with extracts from “research” papers prepared before the proceedings. Participants included Kenneth Barnes, Head of Wennington School, Dr. Michael Young, and various representatives from schools and research institutes. Not all of them, let it be said, talked as much nonsense as Dr. Winnicott. And they all disagreed completely about what “progressivism” means.

This document is of great importance, but not as Mr. Ash intended. It reveals the minds of some leading progressive thinkers when they are off-guard, honest, giving themselves away. The discussions show the uninitiated the kind of thinking now raging like a plague among lecturers in British Colleges of Education, inspectors of schools, and “with-it” teachers generally.

Mr. Ash makes the present situation quite clear. In primary education, he says, the battle for progressivism, if far from won, is at best fully engaged. Progressivists must now fight for power in secondary schools, must “push back the frontiers of society’s intrusion upon the person.” The secondary schools of today are “one of civilisation’s battlegrounds.” Already in parts of Britain (Leicestershire, for example), State primary and secondary schools are being built where formal teaching will be virtually impossible. In one of the research papers,

¹ *Who Are The Progressives Now?* By MAURICE ASH. Routledge, £2.

Douglas Pidgeon, Deputy Director of the National Foundation for Educational Research, describes the new progressive school. On entry the student will join a group of all ages from 11 to 18, not selected on ability:

About a third to a half of his time would be spent in the subject wings of the school, either doing individual experimental work in the practical rooms or participating in small group discussions. Again, about a third to a half of his time would be spent in his home room in individual study, and for the remaining time he would be engaged in large group activities, such as games, music, and drama.

There will be no formal teaching whatsoever. I think it can be confidently asserted that students at these schools will find great difficulty in ever satisfying the present entry requirements for universities.

These "progressives" make it clear that they care little about formal academic achievement. Training in skills, such as languages, sciences or mathematics, is talked of as "social oppressions endemic in orthodox education." For Hu Child, co-Head of Dartington, developing children's values is much more important than educating the intellect. Richly endowed people, says Dr. Winnicott, are those who have decided that life is more important than learning a subject. Maurice Ash wants an anti-school, a rejection of the system which has produced the genus "student" itself, a child-centred dreamland where teacher and student humbly work out personal relations in equality together. Education—Hardy Gaussen, a psychologist, tells us—is love.

As Professor William Walsh has recently argued, the current notion of "dialogue" takes little account of the outside world, whether it be the realities of experience or organised knowledge; so the progressivists repeatedly conceive school as in opposition to society. This is really, as even some Marxists must agree, a reactionary flight to a utopia where dialogue about personal relations can be unhampered by thought about the real and very competitive world outside. This concept of knowledge works very strongly in disciplines like "liberal studies," where the object can be more and more ignored, but is totally inadequate in study where certain realities (as in science or medicine or in engineering) awkwardly intrude upon subjective meditation. Where the object is ignored, the standards relevant to judging it and placing it in a system are also irrelevant, and so the progressivists at Dartington were opposed to standardised examinations. As Professor Walsh says: "They want a solipsistic universe in which the only activity will be activity itself, and in which all experience is a featureless mulch...."

IEA and the 'Post-Robbins Euphoria'

All that excitement (1964 vintage) about a white-hot technological revolution tended to obscure the economic principles on which education systems are based. Lately, however, the notion that education responds to 'market forces' has assumed a new respectability—helped by some trenchant studies from IEA authors.

■ Notable among them is Dr E. G. West (University of Kent), whose *Education and the State* (1965, 40s) was hailed by one national newspaper as 'a piece of intellectual dynamite'. Dr West's book—despite a predictably anguished reception by the party-liners—has become an IEA classic. Its analysis and policy conclusions were discussed in a subsequent IEA paper, *Education: A Framework for Choice* (1967, 15s), by three leading educationists (Blaug, Beales, Veale) who in varying degrees reinforced the argument for widening rather than restricting the opportunity to pay for education.

■ Again, a paper by Professor A. R. Prest (University of Manchester) on *Financing University Education* (1966, 3s) examined the case for switching from state grants to loans. Like other unfashionable concepts explored in IEA papers, this one has been gaining currency ever since.

■ Now comes *Towards an Independent University* by Professor H. S. Ferns (University of Birmingham). It examines the case for founding a new university completely free of government finance and political strings. There was a prompt response inside several British universities at a time when the euphoria following the Robbins Report is fading. Professor Ferns's paper (price 5s) sees powerful economic, social and political arguments for enabling students to finance themselves. Equally topical: *Economic Aspects of Student Unrest* by Professor Alan Peacock and Anthony J. Culyer (3s 6d)

■ For regular exposure to good writing and clear thinking, put yourself in touch with the IEA. We'd be glad to send you a specimen copy of a recent title, and our latest publications list. Or better still enrol you as a 5-guineas-a-year subscriber, in return for which you get all our books and publications.

To: The Institute of Economic Affairs,
Eaton House, 66A Eaton Square,
London, S.W.1

Please send me the latest IEA publications list, a specimen copy of an IEA publication, and details of the subscription scheme.

Name
Address

IEA

Enc

Curiously, the progressivists are gaining power in British schools at the very time when their ideas are almost everywhere in the world intellectually discredited. Dr. W. A. C. Stewart's *The Educational Innovators*² gives an excellent balanced picture of the progressive experiments that end in the Dartington mulch. The progressives look back to Rousseau, and A. S. Neill's Summerhill is their Garden of Eden. Neill wrote that parents are slow in realising how unimportant the learning side of school is. The child is innately wise, and the vote of a six-year-old carries as much weight in school government as his own.

The results of this teaching are now rampant in Colleges of Education. One afternoon recently I attended an examiners' meeting which was disturbed by "pop" music from an adjacent room. I was told it was a students' common room, and they would protest if we interfered with their rights. In Neill's anarchic community, children attend no classes for terms, occasionally for years. Demands for such freedom are now common among rebellious students, and Maurice Ash tells us that the students' rejection of institutions—their cultivation of nothing but what is in *process*—is to be welcomed.

This extreme form of romantic self-expression was out-of-date at least thirty years ago, and it flies in the face of all recent psychological and scientific research. In British Colleges, educational theory is usually based on belief in co-operation rather than competition, and is still hazily in sympathy with Froebel's dream of harmony between all men and nature. The progressivists, Mr. Ash tells us, see their form of education as a precursor of a better world, "a world of 'sanity' in which all conflict would be solved." *O sancta simplicitas*.

WHEN THIS ONCE-NOBLE NONSENSE is attacked, one is often told the "evidence" is against one. A most abused word today is "research." At the end of Mr. Ash's book, Isabel Cabot provides a fine example of the misuses of statistics now prevalent in educational journals. After testing groups of children in different schools, she says her results must be approached with caution, because of the small numbers involved, the tests lasting only a year, the doubtful validity of tests devised to isolate convergent and divergent thinking, and the impossibility of measuring parental influence. If the research is so mean-

ingless, why publish it? And indeed the subsequent statistics prove nothing.

The ignorance of these education specialists hits one at every stage. At the beginning of his paper "Do Progressive Schools Give Too Much Freedom to the Child?" Dr. Winnicott honestly admits that his approach is from the theoretical angle, "since I have no first-hand experience of progressive schools, either as pupil or teacher." Dr. Pidgeon writes: "But are examinations really necessary? If future employers require information on the education of job applicants, are not the student's teachers more qualified to give this than some external examiner who has never seen him?" Has Dr. Pidgeon never heard of "favouritism," or any of the reasons why public examinations were actually introduced in the 19th century? He should read *Making the Grade*,³ a rather ponderous but interesting survey of the grading system of continuous assessment in America. A student says: "... I wonder why grades have to be so subjective. There's a faculty member that I got on a committee he wanted to be on and I had three papers that were graded C, and after that he gave me six hours of A's." The student talks about the real world, and schools which pretend it doesn't exist can only do harm to their children. A great virtue of *The Hothouse Society*,⁴ with its colourful revelations of the secret lives of children, is that it brings discussion back to the mixture of sex, idealism, and ambition which make the true world of the adolescent.

One paper in Maurice Ash's book is outstanding. This is by Dr. Liam Hudson of the Research Unit on Intellectual Development in the University of Cambridge, who certainly knows the up-to-date research. He points out how almost invariably in recent educational psychology, "the beliefs support the facts rather than *vice versa*." When assessing personal relations, psychologists and social scientists judge people limited who are not like themselves. Estimates of intellectual and emotional development remain "largely a matter of taste." Hudson's own bias (his word) is to suspect that progressive schools make most children "happier" than authoritarian ones, but that they withdraw from them the cutting edge that insecurity, competition, and resentment supply. A genuine benevolence in schools may, in fact, disqualify children from a life of productive thought:

Paradoxically, too, it may turn out that the policy of consciously nurturing children's creative potentialities is one which effectively stifles their productivity as adults.

The progressivist can hardly argue that his students are "happier" when they grow up. On the contrary, there is evidence that they find difficulty in adjusting to any kind of competi-

² *The Educational Innovators*. Vol. 2. By W. A. C. STEWART. Macmillan, 90s.

³ *Making the Grade*. By HOWARD S. BECKER, BLANCHE GEER, EVERETT C. HUGHES. Wiley and Sons, 56s., \$5.95.

⁴ *The Hothouse Society*. By ROYSTON LAMBERT. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 45s.

tive society. He cannot be sure that attention to "creativity" has positive results in adult life. In these circumstances, he is beginning to show belated signs of what David Riesman (15 years ago when the radical critique of progressivism was raging in the U.S.A.) called "counter-cyclical" reconsideration—that perhaps it might even be better to send children to schools where at least they will be formally trained in some skills and academic disciplines, and leave enriched by some knowledge of the traditional values of the Arts and Sciences.

The Dilemma of Priority Areas

By A. H. Halsey

"If I could change my block, I would first get read of all the wine heads and clean up the gobash and then try to improve the buildings and paint the apartments. That's what I would do..."

THOMAS S.

"If I could change my block I would have a new house but in it I would have all the bums take out of it. There would be garden where I live. There would be some white people live there we would have all colours not just Negro. There would be 7 room apt. There be low rent for the poor family. The poor family would have the same thing as the average or rich family have. There would be club for the boys and girls. There would be place where the Old could come. Where the young can share their problem..."

KATHLEEN

THIS IS NEW YORK at the wrong end of Madison Avenue around 119th Street where a gifted and humane teacher made a school-room into an education for a handful of eleven-year-old Negro children, teaching them to connect psychedelic to Psyche, Harlem to Athens, as one knowable civilisation.¹

¹ 36 *Children*. By HERBERT KOHL, Victor Gollancz, 30s.

A. H. HALSEY is Head of the Department of Social and Administrative Studies at Oxford and a professorial fellow of Nuffield College. He is the National Director of research into Educational Priority Areas and a well-known sociologist.



**University
of Chicago
Press**

70 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

Fiery Dust

Byron's Poetic Development
JEROME J. McGANN

Fiery Dust — a study of the development of Byron's poetry in terms of the poet's self-expressive needs — recovers Byron's art by exploring its essentially egoistic bases, both in form and theme alike.

330 pages, 104s

Italian Poets and English Critics, 1755—1859

A Collection of Critical Essays
Edited by BEATRICE CORRIGAN

These essays mark significant moments in the rediscovery of the Middle Ages, for they represent the first century of English critical interest in Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. *Patterns of Literary Criticism Series*.

460 pages, paper 32s

The Formal Strain

Studies in Augustan Imitation and Satire

HOWARD D. WEINBROT

A study of the background, theory and practice of the overlapping genres of imitation and formal verse satire during the Restoration and the eighteenth century.

290 pages, 67s 6d

The other day I went to a district at the wrong end of Liverpool Cathedral. The "catchment area" has been almost flattened by bulldozers in the name of civic planning leaving a Board School in gaunt black and beautiful gothic, the survivor of four "great" Education Acts, standing in a sea of rubble. Three hundred yards away is the new planning—high rise flats teeming with anonymous migrant families; and on the other side the decaying remnants of a 19th-century working-class community, defeated and waiting for demolition. Nearby is a street of homelessness, drinkers of methylated spirits, and brothels. There were dirty drawn curtains, broken windows patched with newspaper, and two three-year-olds playing with a dustbin in the middle of the street. In the school there was a seven-year-old class of all the races and an old school mistress with grey hair in a bun and unfashionable clothes, yet eager and interested in the children who hummed about her in colourful activity. With what sociologists call "inner direction" this woman also creates a civilised haven in the centre of chaotic urban degradation. Because of her in this multi-racial English slum (and because of Kohl on 119th Street) a few children have daily experience of civility, moral purpose, and intellectual adventure which could and should be connoted by the

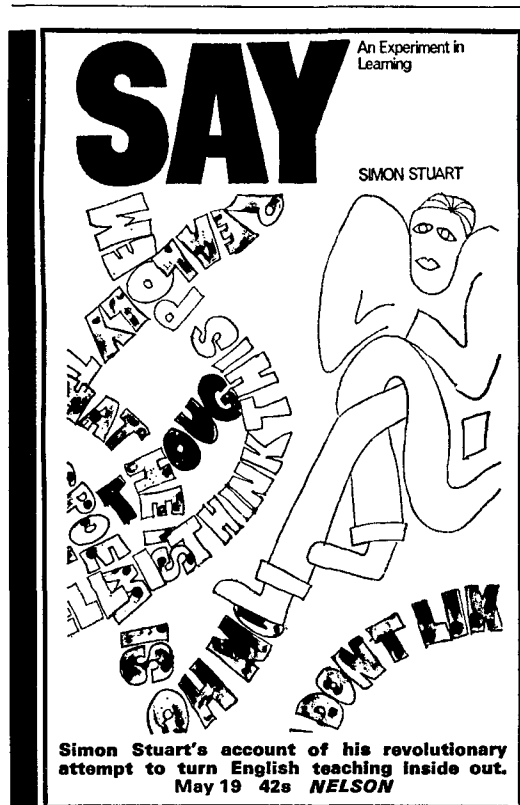
very word city. In these districts the school is often alone as a stable and stabilising institution while all around there is family breakdown and the rawest of community life at the lowest common denominator of individuals thrown together with no common social inheritance. But institutions cannot permanently depend on the occasional gifted teacher *sui generis*. The American moved on after a year. The Englishwoman will retire next year.

THESE ARE Plowden's educational priority areas. They do not encompass all children in distress. Sir Alec Clegg and Barbara Megson argue² that the percentage of such children in Britain now is 10-to-12%, over and above those who are taken "into care" or custody by the social services. By distress they mean "quite simply children who are often wretchedly unhappy because of the strain put upon them at home." Their harrowing illustrations of cruelty, sickness, immorality, madness and fecklessness—making adults unfit to be parents and children unfit to go to school—can be found in all classes and communities. But urban poverty and squalor exacerbate and concentrate these disasters.

It is for this reason that poverty can sometimes be usefully thought of as a geographical entity. Poverty is also a relative phenomenon. Poverty among children, as OXFAM knows, is especially disturbing to the middle-class conscience. The norm is that of the post-Spock child—a quality product. He is planned against fecundity, bathed, dieted and nurtured against disease, and loved and stimulated against ignorance. His physique and his personality are assiduously trained for the race to success. For him the school is an extension of the educative family. True, it is an increasingly sieving and sifting organisation; but he can cope with it. If justice is fairness and the anti-educative neighbourhood a fact, then the principle of *positive* discrimination has to be applied to the slums; otherwise "equality of educational opportunity" remains another sham liberal slogan. As yet the chances of going on to higher education are fifty times greater from the city of Oxford than from West Ham.

The "Educational Priority Area," from one point of view, is a new administrative principle. It came from Plowden in 1966 when the Labour government's hopes for economic growth were in ruins. That C. A. R. Crosland could secure £16 million for E.P.A. building under these circumstances was a minor miracle. But a national attack on the Plowden problem will need massive resources and these will not come

² *Children in Distress*. By ALEC CLEGG & BARBARA MEGSON. Penguin, 4s.



until the 1970s. Meanwhile, a gesture has been made in the shape of action-research in five English and Scottish districts in the hope of helping a few while learning more about how best to help the 700,000 who constitute the most deprived 10%. The administrative hope, one suspects, is for clear cost-benefit analysis. It is doomed to disappointment. If intervention in the slum is successful, it will not establish clear relations between measurable "outputs" and "inputs" but will change the outputs by redefining the aims of education. The tacitly accepted benefit of meritocratic selective education is that an individual is offered escape from the slum; a nobler education would transform the slum itself. On the other hand, the encouraging aspect of this type of project is that it introduces a new type of experimental social administration. It releases government from the pretence that cures for social ills are already known and commits both politicians and civil servants to enquiry rather than to omniscience.

Enquiry, however, also has its problems. The E.P.A. district is no laboratory with controlled variables. Most of what goes on in the E.P.A. projects will issue in three years' time as no more than persuasive writing about educational and social policy based on careful description of the experience of action in the schools and the slums that surround them. Evaluation on the model of a natural science experiment, which is what cost-benefit analysis requires, is hardly possible. After all the essential idea of the action (as distinct from the research) is that of a multiplier releasing potentially educative forces in the community which are at present locked behind the barriers of "Us" and "Them." In other words, almost by definition, things will happen that cannot be foreseen. And the unforeseen could be politically dangerous. Education may not render the masses gentle, nor can it be permanently confined to the school-room. A developing community under these circumstances may march on the Town Hall and thence to Whitehall.

NEVERTHELESS, TO ITS CREDIT, the Government is serious about using the social sciences for experimental administration and the formation of social policy. Richard Crossman, James Callaghan, and Judith Hart are prepared to generalise the E.P.A. idea on to the whole structure of the social services—to move from E.P.A. to Community Development Area (C.D.A.) projects under the auspices of the urban programme. The assumptions are the same. Social dependency and ineffective social services are often concentrated in urban "twilight" zones. "More of the same" in the sense of adding resources to the same structure of social services,

Universities and the State

Probing the UGC. UGC or Ministry? UGC logistical planning. The Vice-Chancellors' Committee and the UGC. The English new Universities. The Bristol sit-in, through Press eyes. Academic freedom. Students' study habits, attitudes and attainment. Suicide and the student.

All in the Spring

Universities Quarterly

Higher Education & Society

40s a year: Spring Issue 10s 6d

Turnstile Press (E), Great Turnstile, WC1

INSIDE A COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

H. W. Simmons and R. Morgan

Head Master and Senior English Master respectively at Bedminster Down Comprehensive School, Bristol

Foreword by Caroline and Anthony Wedgwood Benn

Few contemporary issues arouse such violent passions as that of comprehensive education. Yet both advocates and opponents have been handicapped by its comparatively recent introduction and the consequent lack of evidence on which to make an objective assessment.

This book fills this gap and deals with every aspect of the school's administration and devotes special attention to the difficulties encountered in comprehensive education.

18/- net.

From all good Bookshops



CLIFTON BOOKS,
Clifton House,
83/117 Euston Road,
London, N.W.1.

though useful, is not enough, especially where (as in these disorganised districts) inadequate communication between people and the bureaucracies of welfare creates a huge gap between need and effective demand for help. The Seebohm recommendations for administrative reform will not take us far in this respect. Their direction towards co-ordinated and area-based social work teams is right; but the units of community with which the welfare connection has to be made are nearer to 5,000 than to the 50,000 or 100,000 proposed by the Seebohm Committee. Moreover, the training of social workers with sufficient understanding of how to break down the barriers of mistrust and misunderstanding and able to work in inter-service community teams has scarcely begun.³

Again the theory to be tested is that a multiplier is there to be found which will release immobilised welfare capacities in communities and so reduce dependency on the statutory bureaucracy.

BUT ARE THERE ANY MASTER KEYS to be turned? The tired schoolmaster facing over-large classes in worn-out buildings is understandably inclined to make a weary dismissal of the E.P.A. project as yet another learned demonstration of the all too obviously known—another political stunt to employ middle-class research workers, changing nothing. He may be wrong. (He is wrong if he fails to see that the great bulk of the E.P.A. money is being spent on the slum children and not on the salary cheques of academics.) There are two keys being tried in the E.P.A. version of C.D.A. in London, Birmingham, Liverpool, the West Riding and Dundee. The one is pre-schooling, the other the community school.

Pre-schooling is a possible key for the easily observable reason that the deprived child is one who has been prepared not for schooling but for failure. Here is one of Clegg's infant school head-teachers:

We have children starting school for whom the words 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 represent a new language, children who are so unawakened to the world around them that the meaning of the colour words, red, blue, etc., is not known. Of the 19 children admitted in September this year there are eight who could not fit red to a red jersey or blue to a blue bead. Looking at a book, having someone read a story from it, or talk to them about it, is a new experience, as is the handling of a pencil or crayon. For some, communication by speech is an art to be acquired in school, toilet

training has not been established, and the handling of cutlery needs to be taught. . . .

Playgroups, nursery classes and nursery schools can directly repair these deficiencies; and the effect can multiply. If there is forbearance from the professional teachers and charity from their trade unions, then parents can learn to teach and the primary schools can begin their own task without a crippling handicap of ineducability among their five-year-olds.

The key to a still larger house is the community school—the Kohl classroom writ large. It is typical that contacts in slum schools between parents and their children's teachers are either non-existent or farcical. At worst the teacher drives through enemy-occupied territory at 9 a.m. to withstand siege until the 4 p.m. withdrawal. At best the occasional "open evening" attracts the respectable and aspiring Mum, sometimes accompanied by an embarrassed Dad, to a ritual and uncomprehending inspection of the pupils' exhibits while they queue for an inhibited account of Johnny's progress from the class teacher. Odd exceptions here and there suggest that it is possible to overcome this travesty of partnership between parent and teacher. The Plowden Committee found one school in its National survey where "there is after-school activity on almost every evening during the year when groups of children meet voluntarily for pottery, drama, recorder playing, gardening . . . football, athletics, jumping and agility work. Parents are welcome." *Genuine* participation could provide the multiplier here. The traditional isolation of school from community reflects the uneasy relation between, on the one hand, the legally protected autonomy of the family and, on the other, the political state committed to the provision of individual opportunity through selective education. Within the traditionally isolated school, chances could be given to the exceptionally able or highly motivated individual, but all too often by subversion of the family (a process as rare as it is inefficient).

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL holds out the promise of peace and cooperation between teacher and parent. The first dove must be flown by the teacher but he cannot reconstruct the community unaided. If he is successful at all, the needs of the neighbourhood for health, housing, employment and other services will be found to impinge directly on his teaching tasks. The implication is clear: educational priorities must be integrated into community development, or the E.P.A. must become the C.D.A. The E.P.A. school is impotent except in the context of a comprehensive organisation of social services in the community.

³ *Community Work and Social Change: The Report of a Study Group on Training* set up by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Chairman Eileen Younghusband, D.B.E. Longmans, 21s.

LETTERS

"Dear Orwell"

THANK YOU for the March issue of ENCOUNTER, containing my husband's letter to Orwell. I am sorry that you omitted "Dear Orwell" as I deliberately inserted the words to indicate that TSE was not writing to a stranger.

Faber & Faber,
London

VALERIE ELIOT

Wittgenstein & Rilke

In Stephen Toulmin's illuminating article on Wittgenstein [ENCOUNTER, January] the presentation of Wittgenstein's concern to limit the boundaries of the "sayable" in order to highlight the important, metaphysical "unsayable"—not to rule it out—struck me as astonishingly close to the Rilke of *Duineser Elegien*. To cite only one of many relevant passages from the Ninth Elegy:

*Preise dem Engel die Welt, nicht die unsägliche,
ihm kannst du nicht grosstum mit herrlich
Erfültem; im Weltall,
wo er fühlender fühlt, bist du ein Neuling.
Dum zeig
ihm das Einfache, als, von Geschlecht zu Ge-
schlechtern gestaltet,
als ein Unsriges lebt, neben der Hand und im
Blick.*

(Praise for the Angel the world, not the unsayable; him
you cannot impress with a godlike experience;
in the universe,
where he feels with more feeling, you're an
apprentice. So show
him the simple thing, amended by each genera-
tion,
living as our thing, ready to hand and in sight.)

My translation is not, I hope, unduly free, but may I take issue with Professor Toulmin on an important point of translation? He quotes:

*"Unklar im Traktat [war] mir die logische
Analyse und die hinweisende Erklärung. Ich
dachte damals, dass es eine 'Verbindung der
Sprache mit der Wirklichkeit' gibt."*

Professor Toulmin suggests a translation:

"In the *Tractatus* I was unclear about 'logical analysis' and the clarification it suggests. At that time I thought that it provided a 'connexion between Language and Reality'" (p. 62).

Surely the German (which, as cited, is rather free grammatically) can only mean:

"In the *Tractatus*, logical analysis and ostensive definition were not clear to me. At that time I thought that a 'connexion between Language and Reality' existed."

I have somewhere read that Wittgenstein was a patron of the young Rilke, but came to dislike his later poetry. Yet the parallels between the *Duineser Elegien* and Wittgenstein's own works are surely not mere coincidence?

MICHAEL LIPTON

All Souls College,
Oxford

MICHAEL LIPTON's reference to Rilke is one more splendid illustration of my point: that the central theme of the *Tractatus* was familiar to German readers and thinkers of many kinds. But I cannot accept his suggested translation of *Hinweisende Erklärung* as "ostensive definition." The point at issue here is not an epistemological one. It is, rather, the relation between "grammatical form" and "logical form." For the young Wittgenstein, as for Russell, the purpose of "logical analysis" was clarification (*Erklärung*), which resulted from revealing the "true" logical form behind any "misleading" grammatical form. This view of analysis Wittgenstein abandoned after 1930.

STEPHEN TOULMIN

Algarve, Portugal

MINERVA

*A quarterly review of science,
learning and policy*

Editor: Edward Shils

A forum for the investigation of problems raised
by the worldwide expansion of higher education
and scientific research

Some recent and forthcoming articles include:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Talcott Parsons and
Gerald M. Platt | Considerations on the
American Academic
System |
| C. Arnold Anderson | A Plan for the Uni-
versity of East Africa |
| Edward Shils | The Academic Pro-
fession in India |

The *Chronicle* of *Minerva* contains the fullest
continuous account of student political activities
in Europe, Asia and America available
anywhere in the world

Annual subscription: £1-10-0 or \$5.00

MINERVA, Ilford House, 133-5 Oxford St.,
London, W.1.

The People's Republic

Obafemi Awolowo

In this sequel to his *Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution* Chief Awolowo puts forward his own viewpoint on the type of government, economy, and mental attitude which developing countries need at present when the values imposed by previous systems have not been fully replaced or adapted to meet the new situation. 90/- net

Two Innocents in Red China

Jacques Hébert and
Pierre Elliott Trudeau

This is the diary of an eventful trip taken by two libertarian intellectuals who went to observe China in the midst of the Great Leap Forward. Their political insight enabled them to penetrate the fog of official jargon and to see the human realities of China, both good and evil. 52/6 net; paper covers 24/- net

The Arabs in Israel

A Political Study

Jacob M. Landau

Drawing extensively on Israeli and Arab sources, both official and private, this book presents for the first time in English a comprehensive survey and analysis of the political behaviour of the Arabs in Israel up to the war in June 1967. 1 map 70/- net
Royal Institute of International Affairs

Communism and China

Ideology in Flux

Benjamin I. Schwartz

In this collection of essays one of America's leading specialists in Chinese affairs discusses the evolution of the Chinese People's Republic in terms of its internal development and its relations to the Communist world. He also poses some important questions relevant to the Washington-Peking stalemate. 57/- net
Harvard University Press

Modern China's Search for Political Form

Edited by Jack Gray

This symposium, based on a Working Group on China and the World organized by Chatham House, examines some of the historical antecedents of the Communist revolution in China. 4 text-figures, 1 map 75/- net
Royal Institute of International Affairs

The Man from New York

John Quinn and his Friends

B. L. Reid

John Quinn was a New York lawyer who, in the first quarter of this century, became the friend and patron of an astonishing variety of artists and writers. His biography reveals a rich correspondence recording his friendship with writers such as Conrad, Pound, Eliot, Yeats, Joyce, and Synge, and artists who included Picasso, Matisse, John, Epstein, Braque, Derain, Dufy, and Rouault. 21 plates £5/5/- net

The World Educational Crisis

A Systems Analysis

Philip H. Coombs

This book surveys the current situation in world education. It deals with the quality of teachers, educational objectives at all levels, and the tasks of the universities. It also examines the problem of educational priorities and suggests various solutions. Both students and the general reader will find this book of considerable interest as a study of comparative education. 16 charts 51/- net; paper covers 21/6 net

Oxford University Press